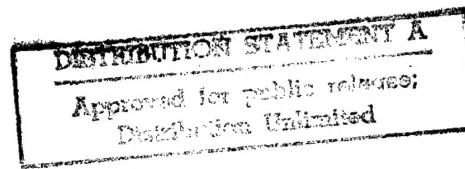


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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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13 March 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

SUBJECT LIST OF ENTRY EXAMS FOR MAJORS IN PHYSICS

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 28 Jan 84 p 2

[Official announcement of the "Program for Competitive Entrance Exams for Physics"]

[Text] Kinematics

Description of the movement of a material point on an unknown trajectory. The relationship between the velocity vector and the acceleration vector and velocity and acceleration along a trajectory.

Dynamics

Newton's first principle. Newton's second principle. Newton's third principle. The movement of a solid traveling close to the earth's surface. Drag. Momentum. The law of the conservation of momentum.

Work and Energy

Mechanical work. Kinetic energy. Potential energy. Conservation of the mechanical energy of a solid. The law of the conservation of full mechanical energy.

Solid State Mechanics

Solid state dynamics. Force moment.

Fluid Mechanics

The movement of fluids through pipes and channels. Resistance of a solid's movement in fluids. Cosmic bodies and their movement.

Kepler's law of movement of planets around the sun. The law of universal attraction. Space velocities.

Principles of Thermodynamics

A thermodynamic system and the methods of its description. First principles of thermodynamics. Heat capacities.

The Structure and Properties of Gases

Properties of gases. The ideal gas. Thermodynamic processes with an ideal gas. A gas of free particles. Thermodynamics of a gas of free particles.

Structure and Properties of Solids

General properties of solids. Temperature expansion of solids.

Structure and Property of Fluids

General properties of fluids. The surface layer of fluids. Interaction of fluids with other substances.

Transitions Between Aggregate States of Matter

Evaporation and thawing. Liquification of gases.

Heat Engines

The second principle of thermodynamics. Heat engines. Heat machines.

Electrostatics

Coulomb's law. An electric field. Voltage. Conductors in an electrostatic field. Dielectrics in an electrostatic field. Condensers.

Laws of Direct Currents

EMF sources. Ohm's law. The work of electrical forces with the flowing of current. A generalized Ohm's law. Kirchhoff's law.

Current in Various Media

Current in metals. Current in electrolytes. Current in gases. Current in a vacuum. Current in semiconductors. Semiconductor diodes. Transistors.

Magnetic Interaction Between Direct Currents

Magnetic forces in a magnetic field. The Biot-Savart's law. The action of a magnetic field on wires through which a current is flowing. Point charges in a magnetic field. Magnetic properties of matter. Ferromagnetic materials.

An Alternating Electromagnetic Field

Electromagnetic induction. The origin of an induced EMF. Mutual induction and self-inductance.

Mechanical Vibration and Waves

Harmonic vibration. Kinematics and dynamics of harmonic vibration. Intrinsic harmonic vibration. Induced vibration and resonance. Wave motion. Harmonic

waves. Wave interference. Wave diffraction. Wave reflection and refraction. Sound.

Alternating Currents

Alternating currents and EMF. Alternating current through a winding and condenser. Power with alternating currents. Transformers.

Electromagnetic Oscillation and Waves

Natural electromagnetic oscillation. The obtaining of sustained electromagnetic oscillation. Electromagnetic waves. Emitting and properties of electromagnetic waves.

Wave Optics

Interference of light. Diffraction of light. Light as an electromagnetic wave. Photometry. Reflection and refraction of light.

Interaction of Light with Matter

The extrinsic photoeffect. Photons. X-rays. Natural light.

Atomic Physics

Structure of atoms. Energy levels of electrons in atoms. Wave properties of particles. The hydrogen atom. Multielectron atoms. Physical principles of quantum electronics. Lasers.

Nuclear Physics

The atomic nucleus. Radioactivity. Nuclear radiation detectors. Nuclear reactions.

[Comments]

The physics test is written and lasts 4 hours. The test subject includes two theoretical questions and one problem. The two questions and the problem are of equal weight in the grade of the written work and are chosen from different areas of physics. Each question contains a portion of the material of one of the above-enumerated subjects corresponding to several lessons or individual parts of them. For example, a question from subject No 2 "Dynamics" can be given in the following form: "Momentum: The momentum of a solid, the change in the momentum of a system. The law of the conservation of momentum." The problem requires the creative application of knowledge from the material of several subjects.

In preparing for the entrance physics exam, the physics textbooks are to be used for the ESPU [Unified Secondary Polytechnical School] from the 8th to the 10th grades. Other sources can also be employed in the aim of more thoroughly mastering the material provided in the program. However, the incorporation of material in the written part of the exam outside the ESPU textbooks is not

required and it is not recommended that such material be employed in the place of that given in the textbooks. The exposition must be terse, brief and clear, the basic facts and phenomena must be given, the physical laws must be formulated precisely, inaccurate statements and omissions are not permitted, and the required drawings and graphs must be correctly and carefully made. Particular attention is to be paid to preparing to solve the problem. Practice shows that the good assimilation of the theoretical material must be complemented by the ability to apply the knowledge creatively in solving specific problems. In preparation it is possible to employ "Sbornik ot zadachi po fizika za kandidat-studenti" [Collection of Physics Problems for the Applicant Students] by P. Galanov, et al., as well as numerous Soviet collections and texts for preparing applicants for institutions of higher learning. The solving of the problem must include: a drawing, a numerical solution, the testing of the measurements in the final result, numerical calculations and an analysis of the obtained result.

Basic literature to be employed:

1. "Fizika--Uchebnik za VIII klas na edinnite sredni politekhnicheski uchilishta" [Physics--Textbook for the 8th Grade of the Unified Secondary Polytechnical Schools], DI Narodna prosveta, 1980.
2. "Fizika--Uchebnik za IX klas na edinnite sredni politekhnicheski uchilishta" [Physics--Textbook for the 9th Grade of the Unified Secondary Polytechnical Schools], DI Narodna prosveta, 1981.
3. "Fizika--Uchebnik za X klas na edinnite sredni politekhnicheski uchilishta" [Physics--Textbook for the 10th Grade of the Unified Secondary Polytechnical Schools], DI Narodna prosveta, 1982.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRESENT STAGE OF SOCIALISM'S DEVELOPMENT MUST BE ASSESSED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 1, 6 Dec 83 pp 20-35

[Article by Jiri Jez, member of the NOVA MYSL editorial staff, and Ladislav Tomasek, DrSc, deputy editor-in-chief of NOVA MYSL: "Promoting Close Linkage Between Scientific Communism and Practice"]

[Text] Commensurately with the rate with which socialist society is gaining strength and developing, as the effects of socialist countries on worldwide developments--particularly on the revolutionary process--are increasing, there also increases the specific significance of scientific communism. The reason for this is the fact that scientific communism--in close linkage with Marxist-Leninist philosophy and hand-in-hand with political economics--represents the general theoretical basis for the formulation of the party's political policy and, in its own way, also of the strategy and tactics of the international communist and workers' movement.

"Among the most important tasks in the area of social sciences in the next 5-year plan will be research into topical problems of building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia." This requirement also extends in its full measure to scientific communism. The party requires that scientific communism contribute to clarification of the stage in which our society finds itself, that it generalize practical experiences gathered in the building of socialism, that it methodically help examine new phenomena connected with the building of an advanced socialist society, that it participate in devising prognoses of the continued development of our society.

Scientific communism offers a synthetic, integral outline of the prerequisites for the origin, the actual conception, formation and development of a communist socioeconomic formation from the viewpoint of the integrative role of the decisive subjective factor of this process--the workers' class and its political movement personified by the activities of Marxist-Leninist parties that abide by principles of scientific communism, proletarian and socialist internationalism.

Scientific communism is called upon to analyze theoretical, methodological and ideological starting points for more specific theoretical and practical approaches to communist socioeconomic formation or its stage from the viewpoint of party leadership and state control, continued development of

socialist democracy. The responsible carrying out of this function calls for a high measure of aptitude in generalizing past development--theory and practice. An insight into the future is afforded by a commensurate analysis of the past, assessment of experiences arrived at in the practical building of socialism, a responsible analysis of how well theoretical findings have fared in practice, where practice enriches theory in relation to a given problem. "Practical lessons learned in building socialism, in the formation of realistic socialism, are the best test of the viability of scientific communism, our revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism."

This discourse does not have as its objective the exhaustion of such an extensive and extremely demanding topic as the development of scientific communism. It does not assess the specific state of scientific research in the given sector, does not go into the problems attendant to its teaching, does not analyze the cadre situation, does not deal specifically with the problem of its propagandizing. Neither its authors nor the periodical intend to supplant institutions and persons whose job it is to evaluate these problems and deal with them. We are following a different objective; to contemplate the thematic problems of the development of scientific communism from the viewpoint of its close linkage to practical needs in light of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the 26th CPSU Congress, the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee of 1980, the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee devoted to problems of ideological and political mass activities of the party, the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and other significant party agenda and documentation. The discourse brings up problems that, in the opinion of the authors, ought to be emphasized, those trends in the development of scientific communism which reinforce its close contact with the practical building of a developed socialist society, and deals with new demanding tasks in the development of socialism both on a national and international scale. It endeavors to provide at least some suggestions in this direction, as behooves the mission of the CPCZ Central Committee's theoretical and political periodical.

Many problems discussed in the article are already being worked on; some, however, call for deeper theoretical knowledge. In the course of the next calendar year and in subsequent years the professional as well as general public will become familiarized with selected key resultant studies and other outputs of the State Program of Basic Research in the given area. It is characteristic (and positively indicative of the importance which scientific communism enjoys in Czechoslovakia) that the heading of the Eighth Research Task of the State Plan bears the title "Building an Advanced Socialist Society in the CSSR and Its International Connotations."

The research, teaching and propagandizing of scientific communism in our country is participated in by party and state scientific, pedagogical and other facilities. A staff including a considerable number of propagandists is engaged in its propaganda. Scientific communism has found its niche in the party's indoctrination system and in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism at institutions of higher learning. A number of titles from the area of scientific communism are appearing on the book market. Many topics were handled on an interdisciplinary basis. Many problems of scientific communism

are dealt with implicitly in other disciplines. Many topics related to scientific communism find their way every year onto the pages of NOVA MYSL and other party periodicals. (In 1982 NOVA MYSL staged jointly with the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism a theoretical conference dealing with problems of developing socialism, with the materials from its proceedings being published in a special issue.) Significant results were achieved by the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics, the Institute for Philosophy and Sociology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, schools of philosophy in both republics and other facilities of the state's institutions of higher learning. The Czechoslovak theoretical front can point in this area even to some monographs and studies published abroad. However, much remains to be done. Even to us apply the words of Y. Andropov, which hold that for the time being "we did not manage to study in adequate depth the society in which we live and work, did not fully discern the laws inevitably governing it, particularly in the sphere of economy."

Scientific communism shares many common topics with other scientific disciplines--historical materialism, general theory of state and law, the theory and practice of party formation and party leadership of society, cultural policy, history of international and communist movements. Nevertheless, it is marked by a specific approach to topics given by the very subject and methodology of scientific communism as a science having a high degree of general validity.

Communist parties of all socialist countries attach extraordinary importance to the analysis and assessment of the attained degree of society's development. The significance and connotation of such an analysis were aptly expressed by Y. Andropov in his article in the periodical KOMMUNIST: "We must be clearly aware of where we stand. Getting ahead of ourselves means setting out unrealistic objectives; merely holding on to what we have achieved means failing to use all the resources at our disposal. Seeing our society making realistic progress with all its possibilities and needs--that is what is needed today."

Practice calls for reinforcing the analytical function of scientific communism. The analytical force of theory is manifested by its capacity to discover internal contradictions of social phenomena, to find out what promotes or hinders development, how to make better use of the possibilities and advantages offered by socialism, how to stimulate the activity of the subjective factor in all aspects of life.

Experiences gained in the building of socialism are of irreplaceable significance to the development of scientific communism (particularly of its analytical function) and for practically dealing with problems of societal development.

Practice also points out the need for strengthening the prognostic function of scientific communism. At the same time, however, it calls for avoiding subjectivistic fantasizing, looking at things soberly, systematically taking into account realistic possibilities and taking into consideration also the

polarized international situation which affects also the possibilities open to socialist countries with regard to domestic policy, particularly in the economy. The prognostic function of scientific communism is connected with improving the methods of party leadership in a socialist society, the need for longer-term planning and basing planning on scientifically-based prognoses of probable future developments, knowledge of long-term needs of man from the viewpoint of the harmonic development of his personality and the formation of his life-style. This is also the direction in which the State Plan for Basic Research for the Seventh 5-Year Plan is oriented.

Strengthening the prognostic function of scientific communism is closely tied to applying the supremacy of politics over economics and culture from the viewpoint of the tasks attendant to the building of socialism as well as from the viewpoint of the increasing responsibility of worldwide socialism for utilizing all opportunities in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, for the leading role of realistic socialism in the worldwide revolutionary process. The improving quality of the prognostic function of scientific communism also relates to the need for and capability of actively opposing the hegemonic efforts of the world's reactionary forces, headed by the United States.

Experience compels us to pay greater attention to the struggle with the world's anticomunist forces and the undercurrents that objectively support them and play into their hands. First of all, there will be a need to work out in closer detail the problems of the offensive defense of revolution and of socialism and of its unified building and defense. In this context we must foresee better than heretofore the basic, strategic steps of the world's reactionary forces, not allow them to take the initiative. Many an example from the building of socialism shows that there exists a mutual affinity between the weakening of the leading role of the party and the activity of antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces. That calls for a deep theoretical analysis of these affinities, causes and conditions of activization of anticomunist forces.

By the end of 1982 and in early 1983, e.g., at the initiative and direct participation of President Reagan and other highly placed persons of the U.S. federal administration, a comprehensive program for a politico-ideological offensive against socialist countries was compiled. Under the aegis of G. Schultz a conference on the topic "Prospects for Democratic Evolution in Communist Regimes" was held. Such a state of affairs calls for an offensive, coordinated reaction. From this there accrues an important task for scientific communism: contributing to the repulsion of this attack and systematically participating in dealing with topical problems of the development of socialist democracy, analyzing the dialectics of the relations in the struggle for democracy, peace, revolution and socialism in contemporary conditions, examining from the position of one's specialty the dialectics of the internal and foreign policy of socialist countries.

Life calls for constant dealing with the internationalization of the experiences gathered in building socialism. At this point the international significance of Soviet experiences gathered in the building of socialism

should be pointed out. "The term socialism can today be interpreted in no other way than with a view to the extremely rich practical experiences of the nations of the Soviet Union and of other fraternal countries. Those experiences show how complicated are the many problems encountered along the path of building socialism. However, at the same time they bear witness to the fact that only socialism is capable of solving the most complicated problems of societal life."

We are constantly returning at a higher level to a multifaceted explanation of the term "developed socialism," we keep assessing the findings made so far in the theory and practice of building developed socialism and are making attempts at its more specific delineation. This involves dealing with theoretical and methodological problems connected therewith, specifically in the dialectical unity of the past, present and future of the socialist society. This research calls for an interdisciplinary approach. From the clarification of this problem is then derived, at a new historical level, a more detailed breakdown of partial problems attendant to developed socialism. It appears to be particularly necessary to devise comprehensive criteria of developed socialism and elaborate in closer detail the problem of the historical position of developed socialism in the socioeconomic formation, both from the viewpoint of criteria of the transition period and specific relationship between the building of developed socialism and the transition period, as well as from the viewpoint of the transition to communism.

Scientific communism is called upon to deal more intensively with the conditions and boundaries of individual stages in the building of socialism and to subject to criticism various manifestations of subjectivism in this area. It pays to study not only how individual developmental stages relate in their succession, but also what makes them differ, what constitutes their qualitative difference, the new quality of demands on the formulation and implementation of the party's strategic policy. It is always topical to study how the stage of building a developed socialist society relates to the period of transition, to generalize the experiences made by socialist countries in transition to a higher stage of building socialism.

The development of events in Poland and attempts of the so-called Eurocommunists at reviving their activity make the problem of general validity of the Leninist concept of the transition period more and more topical. Enemies of socialism cast doubts on this concept as a whole or on some of its criteria (e.g., the general validity of the thesis of transition of small-scale production to socialist mass production, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the theory of cultural revolution, etc.). This provides scientific communism with an opportunity to use the generalization of practical experiences made in building socialism as a basis for enriching the general and the particular dialectics applicable to this problem.

It would certainly be functional and useful to use the positions of scientific communism and the sum of practical experiences to delve deeper into the generalization of the consolidation process in Czechoslovakia and point it out as an example of the fact that political crisis can be overcome and counterrevolution can be definitively defeated only by a systematic reversal

to the platform of Marxism-Leninism in close union with the working people, particularly the workers class, while systematically implementing the principle of socialist internationalism and a creative approach to the problems of building a developed socialist society.

Life calls for dialectical unity and collaboration of all the three types of study of social reality: 1) generally theoretical, provided by relevant parts of Marxism-Leninism; 2) analysis of the laws of the median degree of generalization; 3) specific sociological studies of the relevant sphere of social reality. All of these types of study are governed by the dialectical criterion of the needs of practical life that are most accurately formulated in documents of the international communist and workers movement, in materials from congresses of communist and workers parties with their feet firmly planted on the platform of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian and socialist internationalism. We must constantly confront theory with practice dialectically, develop efforts to make both of these components of social activity mutually inspiring, supplementing, correcting and enriching.

This points out the requisite and coordinated collaboration of individual components of Marxism-Leninism in dealing with topical problems in building socialism. This collaboration should take place in a coordinated, purposeful manner on several basic planes: 1) as a more profound development of each individual component from the viewpoint of its self-reflection, specifically under the viewing angle of the real needs of the practical building of socialism and the basic objectives of the worldwide revolutionary process; 2) as dialectics of feedbacks, internal concurrence within Marxism-Leninism, mutually among its individual components; 3) as their interlinkage with specific social sciences; 4) as generalization of practical experiences made in building socialism and in the progress of the worldwide revolutionary process.

Experience indicates the useful nature of cooperation between scientific communism and political economics in studying the problems of the essence of economics, its structure, the optimum functioning of its mechanism in service to the people, without scientific communism replacing the political economies of socialism. It should prove useful to step up the study of the effects of economics on the development of class-oriented social structure, politics, political system and culture, on the shaping of a socialist life-style, all in the light of the dialectical unity of politics, economics and culture, from the viewpoint of the integrational role of politics in the given process.

Theoreticians who insist that scientific communism should not deal with economic problems are obviously mistaken. After all, many problems of the political economics of socialism and of economic practice are based on sociopolitical relations. The primary task of scientific communism is to study the dialectics of politics and of the economy, sociopolitical relations between the economy and economic practice. Analysis of sociopolitical conditions, relationships and effects of the process of intensification from the positions of the subject and methodological aspects, the study of which falls within the province of philosophy and scientific communism.

Responsible viewing of realistic economic possibilities leads to the conclusion that building a developed socialist society and the transition to communism represent a relatively long historical period. This conclusion has nothing to do with fatalism and does not lead to demobilization of the activity of the subjective factor. A more thorough analysis of this problem is expected from scientific communism, specifically on the basis of multifaceted actual materials from all spheres of the life of society, including the complexities of the international connotations of the building of socialism and communism.

There is a need for a continuously deeper analysis of the dialectics of production forces and production relations in building developed socialism, primarily for analyzing at greater depth how purposeful control forms the basis for creating economic prerequisites for the process of the gradual homogenization of socialist society, for stability and activation of the economic basis for continued development of the socialist political system. Analysis of the dialectics of production forces and production relations plays an irreplaceable role in dealing with extraordinarily important problems of socioeconomic dependency and the effects of intensification of the national economy, particularly in connection with making use of the accomplishments of the scientific and technological revolution. There is a need to deal more systematically with the sociopolitical connotations of the scientific and technological revolution from the viewpoint of the needs of successful economic development of the entire socialist community, from the viewpoint of waging class struggle in developed capitalist countries and effectively overcoming remnants of neocolonialism in developing countries.

We must purposefully follow up the analysis of dialectics of production relations carried out by the political economics of socialism. This analysis offers the key to clarification and deeper understanding of the dialectics of work-related and political activity of workers and the approaches to improving the process of purposefully influencing, developing and improving the quality of these activities. For example, this problem is being dealt with by the chair of scientific communism at the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics.

In practice we once in a while witness the fact that production relations are reduced to mere relations in production and inadequate consideration is given to the relative independence of consumption, exchange and distribution. In other cases, on the other hand, the priority importance of the core of production relations fails to be stressed: the relation of social groups to the means of production and their position in the economic division of labor directly in production. In the late 1960's, there spread a dangerous tendency which considered all relations among people in production to be production relations. It therefore appears advisable, with a view to contemporary conditions, to follow up on Marx' ideas, voiced particularly in his study, "Introduction to Criticism of Political Economics," which point out the contents and scope of the category of production relations, the dialectics of mutual relations among individual spheres of production relations within the entire process of

economic renewal, primarily the dialectics of production and consumption. Also as significant appear the relations between individual phases of the process of economic renewal with the realistic contents and structure of the given social division of labor.

The dialectics of production and consumption is also very closely related to "production of material conditions determining the life-style" of individual classes and social groups in their leisure time. A matter not to be overlooked appears to be the feedback of the quality and structure of consumption on production. These problems have their own significant sociopolitical connotations, the study of which falls in a considerable measure within the province of scientific communism. The decisive part of socialist social class structure (and consequently also the prevalent part of relations within the covenant of workers) is anchored in the economy. This then forms the basis, the determinant and stimulator of forming and developing the alliance of workers for socialism. Consideration must be given to the fact that decisive class-forming effects are exerted by economic relations, mutual dependence of social groups in the given social division of labor. These relations affect to a substantial degree the relations between classes and social groups in production. However, at the same time there is also a need, already being met, to examine the specific dialectics of changes within and among groups.

First of all there is, then, a need for analyzing the reflection of these changes in the plane of political relations, political interests, the thinking and political activity of groups in production and beyond it. Even from this angle it is necessary to deal with the dialectics of politics and of economics, because that is where the material prerequisites for the effective functioning of the political system, for the development of socialist democracy, are formed.

In cooperation with political economics and economic disciplines, scientific communism examines as part of its subject and methodology the economic ground of the alliance of workers in production, the directions in which economics should influence the life of society so as to enable the alliance of workers to develop in harmony with the ideals of socialism and communism; it examines the actual hierarchy of social activities of the alliance of workers in the economic sphere; it analyzes the optimum forms (from the viewpoint of the harmonic development of work and political activity of workers) of political effects on the economy on the scale of society as a whole as well as on individual work teams in the economic sphere.

Life confirms the constantly deepening dialectical unity of politics and economics in developed socialism. However, this unity means neither identification nor substitution of the functions of economics and politics under socialism. It appears useful to differentiate between unity (and rapprochement) of economics and politics and between the effects of politics on the province of economics. The quality of work performed by party organizations among work teams influences in no small measure the quality of political leadership and management of the economy, promoting of their dialectical unity, but this is not a symptom of any coalescence or identification of politics with economics.

Scientific communism examines through theoretical methodology the problems of the unity of politics and economics from the viewpoint of improving the quality of methods for the party's conduct of the economy and improving the contents of the leading role of the working class in this social sphere of key importance. That is what constitutes its analytical and synthetic strength and potential, without replacing other disciplines which approach the problem from more specific viewpoints.

Emphasis on improved effectiveness of the entire economic mechanism on the one hand and on improved management of the economy by the state on the other hand is closely connected with rapprochement (but not identification) between economics and politics. This relation is dialectical, contradictory. Failure to recognize the nonantagonistic nature of this contradiction leads on the one hand to empty politicking, to voluntarism of a kind, and on the other hand to economic pragmatism, elemental development.

The analytical and synthetic potential of scientific communism should become more clearly manifested in the study of general relationships between the production activity of workers, the political and cultural life of society, the general problems of indoctrination of workers toward communism. Up to now the emphasis has been on studying the cultural life of workers in the leisure sphere, which must be regarded as one-sided. Life calls for a specific approach to the cultural profile and activity of workers during working as well as leisure time, a deeper dialectical analysis from the viewpoint of what realistically determines this profile, how the formation of the socialist life-style occurs and what tasks the entire political system is facing in this area.

This problem is also organically intertwined with making improvements in planning. Sometimes it happens that we abstractly appeal to and exhort the introduction of scientific and technological progress without thoroughly analyzing the system of socioeconomic and sociopolitical conditions of the given process which in its consequences can lead to dangerous carelessness, faith in some sort of automatism, or call forth technocratic tendencies which inevitably--as demonstrated by developments in Poland--weaken the unity of managerial personnel and of workers in production, a development abused by the class enemy against the interests of socialism. An unclarified attitude to this problem provides a breeding ground for the parasitic existence of revisionism and of sectarian tendencies.

The scientific and technological process under socialism does not progress spontaneously, but as a product of the constant resolution of nonantagonistic contradictions relevant to any given stage of building socialism. These contradictions and the mechanisms of their overcoming and resolution must become known. It is indispensable to be able to see that scientific and technological progress under socialism occurs within the framework of the dialectics of production forces and production relations and that the only realistic and correct political conduct and management of scientific and technological development is the one which actively takes into consideration this dialectic relationship, which acknowledges the leading role of politics in the given process.

Scientific and technological progress is not a matter of concern to just a certain sphere of management or exclusively of management alone. A considerable role is played herein also by promoting an active attitude to scientific and technological progress; the key role is played herein by political indoctrination interpreted as part of the program for the development of comprehensive efforts by the entire political and cultural system of our society.

Scientific communism provides valuable methodological incentives for the comprehensive development of political indoctrination efforts (particularly of all components of the political system) so that the problem of intensifying the development of the national economy becomes an active asset in the political consciousness of all strata of the working public, particularly among key and managerial personnel. Promotion of the leading role of the party in our society is today unthinkable without devising an entire system of political-organizational, political-ideological and political-economic measures which ensure that the process of intensification of the national economy will be developed creatively and dynamically with active participation by the working public. This involves a problem which is not only technological and economical, but first and foremost political.

Scientific communism faces significant tasks in examining the social class structure of socialist society as the class-oriented social basis for the development of the political system. In cooperation with sociology and other scientific disciplines it analyzes social structure primarily as the social basis for the development of socialist democracy, studies the realistic prerequisites, possibilities and rates of its expansion and promotion, the realistic potential for increasing the political activity of workers. It analyzes the dialectics of the feedback provided by the socialist political system to its social base.

The key problem for scientific communism is posed by the set of problems attendant to the societal mission of the working class, its leading role in all spheres of the worldwide revolutionary process, but particularly in building a socialist society. Here no wavering must be permitted, no concessions to hostile or opportunistic theories, even if they are shrouded in the most alluring attire. Of decisive importance is our capability to continue in a creative and productive manner to analyze, clarify and implement in practice the leading role of the working class in building socialism, with active consideration given to the overall state of development of the international political situation.

Scientific communism deals with the general theory of social class structure from the viewpoint of the realistic implementation of the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary alliance and in the alliance of working people for socialism. It studies how the economic interest of classes, social groups and nations is gradually transformed into social and political interest, how this process determines policy and how policy purposefully influences it in reverse in realistic implementation of social policy of the party. Practice compels us to increase our attention to

the problem of interests from the viewpoint of all three components of Marxism-Leninism, to examine both of their aspects--objective and subjective--their structure, hierarchy and mutual interdependence throughout the social system.

Scientific communism examines those conditions and phenomena which differentiate the workers class from other components of the revolutionary alliance and the alliance of working people for socialism and which connect them with these components. Both spheres must be studied and developed in dialectical unity vis-a-vis the specific historic, economic and political situation and tasks of the party in the process of building developed socialism. It follows from the nature of socialist society that within it there prevails a trend toward rapprochement of allied classes and groups.

Attention must also be focused more strongly on how the given problems related to the process of intensification of the national economy, within which scientific and technological progress plays a substantial role. Also deserving of more attention is the aspect of the difference between the working class and the socialist intelligentsia, as well as the aspect of unity. The process of intensification of the economy places higher demands on implementing the leading role of the workers class within the alliance of working people, its capability of collaborating with the intelligentsia in the implementation of the party's demanding economic tasks. Under party leadership, theory is called upon to analyze the process of the party's conduct of developing an alliance of working people (led by the workers class) with a view to the needs of intensification of the national economy. For example, the Institute for Philosophy and Sociology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences is preparing an international monograph on the topic "Rapprochement of the Workers Class and Intelligentsia in Countries of the Socialist Community" as the output of Key Task VIII-3-4 of the State Plan for Basic Research.

Among the tasks of scientific communism also belongs the analysis of socioeconomic conditions of the social activity of classes, groups and nations and of the feedback between those conditions and the actual structure of social activity of the given social groups. There is a need to examine what brings social groups closer together and what tends to pull them farther apart, to study in closer detail the actual network of social activity, its internal structuring, mutual interdependence and influence specifically paying particular attention to the political activity of the workers class and other groups under socialism.

Literature from the field of scientific communism deals for the most part with relationships between the work and political activity of social groups. However, the problems of development of social activity (as a system) are much more far-reaching. Somewhat less differentiation is made between work and economic activity for the time being. It will be necessary to promote a comprehensive, historiographical approach to the hierarchy of social activities under socialism from the viewpoint of feedbacks between the social structure of our society, economy, politics and culture under the dominant position of the political system in the overall socialist social system in the given developmental stage of our society.

Scientific communism cannot withdraw from problems of class-oriented social and national structure--under the mistaken notion that they constitute an exclusive domain of sociology. It cannot even limit itself to general sociology just as it cannot reduce itself to a general Marxist theory of politics. It examines the dialectics of feedback between class-oriented social structure and politics from the viewpoint of implementing the leading role of the workers class and its party in building of socialism.

Scientific communism devotes commensurate attention to the problem of nationalities, relations among nationalities. It examines relations among nationalities particularly as political relations, specifically from the following aspects: 1. It studies relations among nationalities as part of the social basis of the socialist political system; 2. It studies them as the object of political management and control; 3. It deals with them from the viewpoint of the actual representation of socialist nations and nationalities in the representative system and, in general, the operation of the entire socialist political system.

Scientific communism is eminently interested in the political connotations of the problem of classes and nationalities--what is common to both and also what separates them. It deals with the dialectics of rapprochement between allied classes and nations under socialism. Within the framework of scientific communism it pays particular attention to sociopolitical relationships between economic integration of socialist countries and the trends and ways of resolving the problem of nationalities. Economic integration is the economic basis and stimulator of this process. Scientific communism pays particular attention to the integrational role of the internationally oriented socialist policy. Active consideration must be given to the difference as well as the unity among processes of rapprochement of allied classes and rapprochement of allied nations and nationalities. Scientific communism is devising a general "theoretical outline of resolution" of this problem. It deals with the general laws of inevitability attendant to rapprochement of socialist nations and nationalities, assesses this process and offers its findings to practical politics.

Life shows that from the viewpoint of scientific communism there is a need for dealing more intensively with the Marxist solution to the problem of nationalities in all the key spheres of the worldwide revolutionary process with a view to the political tasks of the contemporary stage of the contemporary epoch. The problem of nationalities finds resurrection in new modifications in countries involved in national liberation movements, but also in advanced capitalist countries (see, e.g., Great Britain). Specific weight accrues to dealing with the problem of nationalities in countries of real socialism in a revolutionary way.

The time is coming for synthetically dealing with general problems of management of the socialist society from the viewpoint of the integrating role of socialist policy, assessing the research made into these problems so far, generalizing the experiences gathered in the struggle with non-Marxist concepts of management and pointing out approaches toward improving the management of our society in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

A key position is held in scientific communism by problems of the political system, its position, function and tasks in the overall social system of our society, the problems of the determination of the political system by the economic system and its reverse effect on the economy and social structure, on the cultural system and on life-style. And all of this must be studied from the viewpoint of implementation of the leading role of the workers class and its party in the wider context of international class struggle and the worldwide revolutionary process.

In this context it turns out to be necessary to analyze the political system as politics in action, as politics interpreted in dialectical unity of its structural elements that function as an integral unit and achieve optimal functional effects in the implementation of the strategic political interest of the workers class under conditions of building a developed socialist society.

It is also turning out to be necessary to deal in scientific communism with improving the methods of party leadership in all spheres of social reality without having scientific communism replace the scientific discipline of the theory of party leadership of socialist society. The activity of communists, party organs and organizations must be evaluated with more emphasis on their actual share in the political approach to the complex of tasks connected with the intensification of the national economy. This calls for resolutely developing in this direction a dialectical unity of the political organization, political indoctrination and economic activities of the party, its entire internal life and relations.

With regard to the concept of state, scientific communism analyzes the continuity of thematic contents and basic functions of the state with a view to contemporary problems, deals with the developmental stages of the social socialist concept of state from the viewpoint of the class contents of a socialist state as well as from the viewpoint of promoting its democratic contents. There is a need to oppose revisionist attacks against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the various modern anarchosyndicalistic deviations which propose to replace the well-proven Leninist socialist concept of state by dubious variants of the so-called workers' autonomy. More attention must be paid to the legislative activities of the state, to analyzing the development of the legislative system primarily from the viewpoint of the expansion and promotion of socialist democracy, the increasingly demanding nature of tasks attendant to meeting the economic and political indoctrination function of state with a view to the increasing demands on correct delineation of the jurisdiction of social organizations, to the activities of national committees under new conditions. It stands to reason that scientific communism cannot be a substitute in this area for jurisprudence or for legislative practice. Its task is to point out theoretical and methodological solutions, correctly signal the needs of practice, evaluate the attained results, analyze the trends in the actual process of collaboration of state organs with components of the National Front in dealing with a complex of problems from the area of economy (including environment and social policy) and culture.

In cooperation with the theory of state and law and with other disciplines scientific communism is currently devoting a greater amount of attention to the problems of the position and role of social organizations in our political system, clarifying the Leninist contents of the basic functions of such organizations, primarily vis-a-vis demanding economic and ideological indoctrination tasks.

Scientific communism is currently concentrating its efforts on an analysis of the place and position of work teams in the specific dialectics of politics and economics in dealing with the contemporary tasks of building developed socialism. This involves the position of work teams as both the object and subject of the socialist political system, specifically in organic linkage to the implementation of the party's economic policy during the current period.

Scientific communism could in working cooperation with the theory of state and law contribute to resolving the problems attendant to the actual functions, tendencies and tasks of the socialist system of law, a uniform normative base which forms the condition sine qua non for effective performance and effective social management in all spheres of our life.

Scientific communism is devoting an increased amount of attention to a more widely based structural and functional incorporation of the socialist political system into the entire social system and its development. After all, scientific communism is dealing with the sphere of politics mainly from the viewpoint of its integrational mission in the service of implementing the historic mission of the working class under socialism as part of the overall worldwide revolutionary process. The effectiveness of the socialist political system and analysis of the criteria of effectiveness are deserving of an independent analysis themselves.

Scientific communism examines the sociopolitical connotations of cultural revolution in any given stage of building a socialist society, the share of this sphere in implementing the historic mission of the working class under socialism. It analyzes the general inevitable laws of feedback between the political and cultural system in keeping with the materialistic concept of history.

Scientific communism will face considerable tasks in its continued research into the problems of sociopolitical connotations of the shaping and development of socialist life-style. This involves primarily analyses of the theoretical and methodological incorporation of political components into the structure of socialist life-style, the relationship between life-style and socialist activity of individual social groups, relationships between the formation of life-style and promotion of unity of socialist society, the effect of socialist life-style on the progress of revolutionary forces in the world, problems of the dialectical relationship of economics, politics and culture as it affects formation of socialist life-style.

Scientific communism is intensively examining the dialectics of domestic and foreign policy, primarily the dialectics of the policy of countries

of the socialist community, specifically the role of this community in the worldwide revolutionary process. It examines how the internationalization of the hegemony of proletariat on a worldwide scale is gaining an increasingly purposeful thematic content and goal orientation, more coordinated organizational forms, a dynamic, purposeful ideological substance.

Objectively there is occurring an increase in the dynamics of mutual interdependence of the domestic and foreign policy of the countries of the worldwide socialist community. This tends to increase the demands on domestic policy, because in relations to foreign policy, domestic policy permanently retains its priority. Scientific communism should--summarily put--deal more with topical problems of the international class struggle and its relationships with the struggle for peace under conditions of the current stage, assess practical experiences made in this area, and formulate conformant prognoses.

There is an increasing objective need to examine in closer detail--in the light of the contemporary state and trends in international political events--the problems of revolution in individual spheres of the worldwide revolutionary process; in countries engaged in national liberation movements to examine the general trends and specific peculiarities of national democratic revolutions and national liberation revolutions; in advanced capitalist countries to examine the problems of antimonopolistic democracy, the struggle for defending democracy against the threat posed against it on the part of imperialism, the transition of this democracy into a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the people and that of the latter into a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Exceptionally topical and acute are the problems of war and peace under current conditions. Scientific communism is justly expected to produce reliable analyses of the possibilities of averting war, preserving and promoting a policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. This involves the creative application of Leninism to the problems of the dialectics of peace, revolution, democracy, socialism, in close cooperation with the relevant scientific disciplines and on the basis of the generalization of the rich practical experiences gained in the worldwide revolutionary process. There is also a need for a class-oriented analysis of the various concepts of peace in the contemporary world from the viewpoint of strategy and tactics of the current class struggle, analysis and critique of modern forms of pacifism. An extraordinary amount of attention must be devoted today to the topical problems of the relation between the building and defense of socialism. Scientific communism must scientifically document what constitutes not only the danger of skeptical fatalism, but also the danger of carelessness in this matter. Peace cannot be taken for granted. Thus, there is a need to analyze all the things that can and must be done to maintain world peace and continued development, promotion and implementation of the worldwide revolutionary process. There is a need to analyze the actual sphere of the strength of the basic world classes in the complex of its key indicators, in order neither to overestimate nor underestimate the strength of imperialism and develop commensurate propaganda. There is a need to know that the aggressive designs of the American great bourgeoisie spring in essence from

a strategic defense of contemporary world capitalism regardless of the fact that the aggressiveness of world imperialism is dangerously increasing.

"It is of vital importance," as stated by Vasil Bilak at the Ninth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, "that the widest strata of our populace be capable of correct orientation, that they be capable of differentiating between what is important from the long-term viewpoint and what is on the daily agenda. That they know what countries of the socialist community are striving for and what the intentions of imperialism are. That the working people become increasingly aware of the danger posed to the world and to our nations by the imperialist policy which is pushing the world to the abyss. That they also be aware of their stake in this historic struggle."

Some tasks of scientific communism are of a more long-term nature. It is of decisive importance to realize the possibilities and the mission of scientific communism as the theoretical basis for the party's policy, its strategy and optimum utilization of these possibilities for the benefit of the working people.

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IMPORTANCE OF SOCIOPOLITICAL ASPECT OF R&D STRESSED

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[Article by Prof Rudolf Sima, doctor of sciences, member of the Philosophy Department, Comenius University, Bratislava: "Political-Ideological Questions; Man, the Motive Power and Objective of R&D"]

[Text] The Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and the subsequent plenum of the CPSL Central Committee emphasized that the task of accelerating and making research and development more efficient is one of great urgency and political responsibility as a strategic revolutionary duty of our society. This is a task whose fulfillment is a most important means of intensification based on improving the economic mechanism as an important means of raising the level of our entire social system. In the interests of accelerating and making R&D more efficient, a whole series of specific measures was adopted. At the same time, this brings up the requirement that our R&D and economic potential be linked organically with the social and human potential and together create a harmoniously developing whole.

This practical test cannot be managed without good theoretical preparation. Lenin's idea that revolutionary practice is not possible without revolutionary theory is more than ever applicable to the R&D sector. Research and development creates conditions which at the present time call for new forms of living for man and society. Accelerating and making R&D more efficient depends on resolving not only scientific, technical, technological-production and organizational-managerial questions but also resolving the most general theoretical-methodological, political-ideological, cultural and human questions.

Research and development is a complicated, multifaceted, internally articulated and contradictory process of organically linking and diffusing science, technology and production which is given deeper positive form by well-known cycles, including that of research-development-production-utilization and others. It represents the dialectical process of expanded renewal of science, technology and production. It has the character of a self-controlled system with complicated dialectical interaction within the system. It is an objective system, one developing in an orderly way. Although each of its components is characterized by relative independence and specific natural laws of development, all these components emerge and function as subsystem

components of the entire system of research and development which cannot fail to have preeminence before its parts.

Within the entire R&D system the industrial and technical aspect of science, the scientific-industrial dimension of technology and the R&D character of production come to the fore. Science, technology and production, as a result of intra-system dialectics, assume new systemic characteristics and qualities. They fulfill new system functions. For example, automation frees man from unskilled and laborious activity and releases him from the immediate production process, where he was reduced to one of its component parts. It enables him to perform activity worthy of man, controlling, organizing and directing automated machinery. Here automation is performing an important societal-human function. All this has an effect on modifying the development of work processes, as, for example, rotating work, switching from one job sector to another, preparing people for different kinds of work, etc.

The new character of science, technology and production must also be reflected in the procedures for studying them, in deciding on their development and in practical measures for their control. Here the traditional analytical procedure of examining only each R&D component separately is no longer suitable, but rather a synthesized approach and methods must be applied which permit the subject--in this case science, technology and production--to be studied comprehensively, compositely and in development. Science, technology and production can no longer be seen and handled as subsystem components of R&D, as separate phenomena in mutual isolation and detached from R&D, but rather from the position of their mutual dialectic and unity on the basis of multidimensional thinking or, more exactly, tridimensional thinking: scientific-technical-production.

However, R&D is not an autonomous and self-serving process but a subsystem component of the social macrosystem--in our case, the socialist social system --and functions in it as the most effective means of universal, permanent transformation of the entire system of productive forces, intensification of the national economy and transformation of the material-production base of all life. It exists and develops as a subsystem element interacting with other subsystems of the socialist social system and with itself as a whole. Research and development is organically connected with the virtues of socialism, particularly those in the area of proprietary relations, policies and ideology. At present we are faced with the task of intensifying this connection on the basis of seeking and developing new forms, methods and means. Thanks to this connection, research and development is acquiring a social character which differs in terms of quality from that in capitalism and one can refer to it as a new social kind of research and development which is distinguished by new motives, developmental moving forces, goals and sociopolitical and ideological ramifications. Incorporating R&D processes into a specific social system brings to the fore its properties, qualities and functions which cannot be seen and examined with an intrasystemic approach to research and development. Recognizing and utilizing the advantages of socialism facilitates socialist policy, its ideological orientation and the direction of research and development.

Research and development which has a scientific-technical and technological base but also a sociopolitical character forms one of the most important areas of the class struggle between human progressive forces of true socialism and the inhuman reactionary forces of imperialism. This is proved by the whole series of various sanctions and embargoes by the forces of imperialism aimed at weakening research and development in socialist countries.

Research and development also forms new relations between man and his work, including also social work, such as R&D itself. This relationship is characterized by new dialectics and specific ways of resolving them. Man's problems are encompassed in the very process of research and development, which is a union of objective and human components distinguished by subject-object dialectics. Representatives of science, technology and production are the subjective factors. Here man appears not only as an external agent or human factor on the level of other R&D factors but as a key subject and main objective of research and development. He is at its beginning, in its center and at its end. Current changes in production, especially the transition from machine mechanisms to automated system regulation based on micro-electronics, call for a new relationship between worker and the system of technology, a new dialectic of the human and impersonal component of production forces. This places new qualitative demands on the quality achieved, besides a scientific-technical and economic-technological character, also a new societal-human character. Research and development cannot be understood or developed without understanding and developing man. Thus research and development cannot be fully comprehended under the system of science-technology-production, but only under the system of man-science-technology-production-man. Without movement on the basis of this system there can be no development of socialism or of research and development, or even of man.

From the viewpoint of the social macrosystem, the problem of the relationship between man and R&D also manifests itself on a different plane than that of man-science-technology-production-man. Here man does not appear only as a person who is a direct component of research and development but as a person who is a member of a social system, a citizen of a socialist community. Research and development penetrates into the essence and basic dimension of man's existence and life, it changes its substance and influences the character of work, it revolutionizes the relationship between man and nature and mutual relations among people.

Under the bourgeois industrial system, man was an adjunct to the system of machinery and a rank-and-file member of the labor force, reduced to being a thing among things. The focus of attention centered on machine factors. Demands on personal or cultural-educational development were minimal. Therefore, even unskilled child and female labor could be used on a mass basis. Research and development, however, requires, expects and under socialism also develops the person generally and cultivates all of his creative forces and whole personality, considering him as the most important motive force and the wellspring of its own development. Here research and development cannot fully realize, innovate, intensify and fulfill its human

mission without broad innovative changes in people, their intensification, and without their active creative relationship to research and development and a growing conscious participation in its development. It is precisely the harnessing of workers' creative forces for R&D that gives socialism the edge over capitalism in developing and making R&D efficient in human terms. As we will demonstrate, in direction and quality socialism removes the chance element under capitalism in the development and humanization of R&D. The more the human factor is developed and cultivated, the more necessary and functional for R&D is its development and humanization. The higher the level attained in R&D, the more dynamic its character, the more dependent it is existentially on the energetic, conscious activity of the subjective factor, on its creative relationship to R&D. Shortcomings in the development and activity of the subjective factor become greater and greater obstacles to the development and efficiency of R&D. The development of man for his own purposes is organically linked with the development of man as the product, condition, motive force and chief objective of R&D. This calls for a qualitative change in the approach to man and to resolving the relationship of man to R&D.

As indicated at the plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSL Central Committee on ideological questions and on accelerating R&D, the latter is inherently and by its dialectic nature as well as its situation in a specific social and human-cultural process with an important educational function. It influences the formation of the vocational and overall personality profile of man and his work and stimulates the need for inquiry, innovation, prospects of education and self-education, commitment, refinement and culture. It winds all through the life and activity of society, social groups and individual persons.

If we did not perceive, examine and resolve the problem complex of R&D comprehensively and systematically in its contradictory development, especially in its social, personal and cultural contexts, and did not consider adequately the philosophic, theoretical and methodological approaches, we would be creating needless obstacles for ourselves and blocking the way to its socialistic resolution, including the R&D and economic aspects themselves. This is a matter of fulfilling Marx' legacy that science develop not only as an adequate means of perceiving the world and the great intellectual potential of material production but also as a universal human cultural force which changes people's actions, their whole system of interaction with nature and one another, and from which there emerges a man changed qualitatively, universally and personally. This kind of understanding of science and technology distinguishes Marxism from the utilitarian-pragmatic interpretation of science and technology.

Rightful emphasis on the need to handle R&D and economic-production aspects with regard to intensification of the national economy, evaluating processes and increasing labor productivity and efficient management with what we have, especially of time and direct labor and past labor input, must not lead to their overestimation and isolation from the social-personal and cultural aspects.

The decisive role of man in R&D leads to increased attention on studying the human-cultural aspect of R&D and also on studying the R&D aspects of man. In resolving this task, it will not suffice only to analyze, develop and apply the natural and technical sciences, or even only those social sciences which explore problems of economics, legal norms, the political system, etc. From this viewpoint, it is necessary to give due attention to the humanistic sciences (or sciences about man and his mind, thinking and acting) and activities of artistic cultivation by portraying the man of labor, his working relations, conditions, problems, joys, etc. Greater attention should also be given to the problems of converting the social sciences into a direct productive force. The results of science about man and his artistic-cultural activities do not always sufficiently stress that they should be duly considered in studying and resolving research and development. All the more so since developed science and technology can reveal their human essence only in harmony with the developed, strong and humanly oriented person. Also erroneous are the claims often made that intensification and improvement in R&D in the area of production are a matter of the natural and technical sciences. The social sciences, they say, affect R&D only through mediation, by dealing with problems of political practice while production practices are the domain of the natural and technical sciences.

With regard to the role of the natural and technical sciences in improving the substantive component of production forces, especially the technical-material base, we know fairly well what has to be done and we are able to lay out specific tasks and programs (in the area of automation, robotics, cybernetics, biotechnology, bionics, etc., but also management, planning and setting up data banks). We must also devote great attention to man as the chief production force and to improving his qualifications. It is important that workers in the social sciences and artistic-cultural fields think in accordance with the aims of science, technology and production and that those who manage research and economic development on various levels not lose sight of the aims of social-personal development, the needs of the humanistic sciences and artistic-cultural activities, because these are not something external or simply decorative but affect the very essence of R&D. As we emphasized at the plenum of the CPSL Central Committee on R&D by Comrade M. Hruskovic, "Only people...can change science into a genuine source of creation of new values and a determining factor in the transition of our economy on the way to intensive development." This concerns creatively thinking people in the area of production, science and technology and also in the area of applying the results of science and technology. At the same time it is important to recognize the existence and material interests especially of those who have a vital stake in the application of the results of science and technology. This especially refers to people who are doing unskilled or very low skilled manual labor, or physically hard and monotonous work, often under conditions hazardous to their health. According to statistics, there are almost 900,000 such workers. They in particular ought to have a material stake in accelerated and more efficient R&D which can release them from such labor. It is important that, with the help of society, they become fully aware of this fact and are accordingly properly directed regarding R&D.

In the interests of more rapid and efficient R&D it is necessary to give proper attention to positive changes and intensification in man himself and to set forth here, too, specific tasks to develop and cultivate his perception of R&D to achieve a creative but at the same time an organized, disciplined and conscious attitude toward it. This is inconceivable without a political worldview based on the cultivation of philosophic, dialectical-materialistic, multifaceted thinking. Nor is it feasible without realizing the principle of worker merit and especially eliminating any possibility or form of unearned income which inclines a person toward everything except honest work and a creative attitude toward R&D.

Using free time--which is increasing on the basis of accelerated and more efficient R&D--only for personal relaxation and one's private pursuits without an optimal social effect cannot be considered socialist. This sphere of human life must also become more subject to the continuous personal development of man as a consequence and condition of further human expansion of research and development.

The social dimension and human basis of R&D must be emphasized and developed also because often the deliberations of certain individuals, in spite of clearcut party policy, contain implicit though unconscious false overtones of bourgeois scientism and technocracy which attempt to explain and enlarge on R&D and present civilizing developments only in scientific and technological parameters. It is precisely these overtones that arouse cheap illusions that R&D as perceived in technocratic terms--especially by developing the natural and technical sciences and improving the material aspects of production forces as well as managerial manipulation of people --can solve the problems not only of production but of all society without convincing him and involving him in socialist activity and the needs of research and development.

Illusory notions about R&D manifest themselves, on the one hand, by arousing cheap technocratic optimism and the messianic mission of science and technology and, on the other hand, in pessimistic technophobia and antiscientific anticulture. Under technocratic conditions of management R&D does not develop as an effective means for humanizing man. It can easily slip out of man's control and overwhelm him as an uncontrolled, strange and alienated work.

From the viewpoint of technocracy, R&D is interpreted as a process which replaces the role of the socialist revolution. Changes in the professional structure are explained as changes which replace the social-class structure. The class character of politics, ideology and managing society and production are replaced by "neutral" class, apolitical and "scientific-managerial" technology. J. Galbraith expressed it thus: "Demands dictated by the technology and organization of production and not ideological symbols--that is what the character of an economic society requires." Technocratic views and attitudes also lead to direct attacks on the laboring class as the guiding force and key subject of R&D in the present stage of development of socialist society. This is the well-known bourgeois ideological and revisionist thesis that the working class has fulfilled its historic mission by successfully

winning the struggle for political and basic economic changes in society and that during the scientific-technical revolution it is being replaced in its leading position in society by a social group of scientific-technical intelligentsia. These theses are largely founded on one-sided judgments and exaggeration of the fact that in recent years under the influence of R&D there has been a very rapid increase in the number of members of the intelligentsia and that this social group is assuming an ever more important role, not only in science, technology, education and culture but also in production and in the whole life of our socialist society.

One-sided optimism about the development of science and technology must be offset by increased concern about social and human control and proper coordination of this development. The forces of science and technology can be unleashed destructively as well as harnessed and directed to benefit the socialist development of man and the welfare of mankind. To release the constructive forces of science and technology and with their help resolve existing problems of production and the life of the people is an urgent task for the whole highly qualified collective of scientists and technologists. However, we must not forget that R&D is contradictory and can also bring contradictory results. Therefore, for certain steps forward, for example in the area of labor productivity, we often pay our "dues" in the form of problems in the working and living environment, the physical and mental health of the workers, etc. It is important that this cost, especially for the human factor, not be greater than the return itself. If advances in R&D are not accompanied by appropriate developments and changes in man, a situation might arise in which man forms a negative attitude toward R&D. All this underlies the importance of social-personal control and the need to develop the political, philosophical, ethical, human and cultural aspects of R&D with the help of humanistic sciences, especially dialectical-materialistic philosophical thinking, without which there can be no conceptual Marxist-Leninist economic thinking but only limited commercial and merchandizing considerations characterized by the principle of utilitarian pragmatism and inconsiderate egoism on the level of enterprises, departments, etc. Even under the influence of this kind of thinking contradictions increase between outdated management and the rapidly growing needs and demands of R&D for high-quality management.

In a socialist society science and technology and all research and development change--as even noted by Marx--"from an instrument of class power to the might of the people" and to "the source of human development of the working man," especially of the laboring class. The measure of application of science and technology in production must, under socialism, also be the measure of liberating man from inhuman actions and positions in production and also the measure of his control over production conditions and relations, the measure of broad personal development of producers now acting as the main production force. It is precisely as the universal power of the people and for the people that our party devotes its attention to R&D. Stimulating, releasing and developing science and technology as a force of the people call for a uniform, qualified R&D policy in which it is not only a matter of functionally integrating science and technology with

production but also integrating production, as an important stimulating force, with science and technology.

Only science and technology that is conditioned on production and permeated with its needs can be functional for production and it is only this kind of science and technology that production yearns for. Under these circumstances, thinking is needed from the position of an inverted cycle, science-research-production-utilization, because how the requirements and desires of production for science and technology are identified, what kinds of tasks production sets for science and technology will determine their reaction to production and its reverse influence. As noted by the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, without creative activity by representatives of production, even in this phase and then again during specific processing of projections and offerings of science and technology to production, research and development cannot proceed harmoniously.

Accelerating R&D and making it more efficient must be one of the basic tasks of the working class as the guiding force "of the social mind and social heart" (Marx) in the struggle for building a developed socialist society. Comrade Jakes rightfully pointed this out at the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. It is important for all members of the working class to understand that the power of science and technology is their power and that they be properly guided by it. This leads to the urgent task of preparing and educating workers not only in R&D and management but also the broad working masses, especially of the laboring class and their young people, for the requirements of research and development.

The preparation of workers, especially of the laboring class, must be oriented toward great and rapid changes and demanding tasks. This is attested to by examples from the research of J. Jirasek concerning the occupation of lathe operator: 1. An operator of a traditional turret lathe expends 85 percent physical and only 15 percent mental effort. 2. A center lathe calls for 25 percent mental exertion. 3. A center lathe with accessory mechanization requires up to 40 percent mental effort. 4. A bar stock lathe without setup requires as much as 70 percent mental effort. 5. The operator of the machining center of an automated production section requires 85 percent mental exertion. 6. Finally, the operator of a remote control combination machine expends as much as 90-95 percent mental effort. This process has an obvious impact not only on increased requirements for special education but also for overall personal, especially ethical development of the occupation of lathe operator. It places new demands on the system of division, organization and coordination of work and on the occupation, public and social position of man, etc. There are instances where demands on a person, as the result of R&D, are even greater and more rapid. Are we now doing everything necessary to prepare and educate workers for the tasks and demands of R&D? Are we not too tolerant about all sorts of things that we ought to be doing today so that tomorrow will have its revenge? The replies to these questions make even more serious demands on the universal preparation for subjective factors of R&D. These questions can only be resolved by means of additional training for new occupations, but it must be advanced training. This is so that workers can be well prepared for new kinds of work, new

occupations, new collectives, a new system of organizing work, etc., and get accustomed to new work without serious difficulties. This also means cultivating a sense for newness, dynamism and prospects for overcoming conservatism and traditionalism so that workers are not apprehensive about new tasks but accept them with understanding.

In the cultivation, education and overall preparation of the subjective factor for the tasks and demands of R&D there are perhaps the greatest potentials for accelerating R&D and making it more efficient, without heavy investments and demands on foreign currency. Efforts along the lines of this preparation and education will be successful on the condition that they are linked with retraining and self-education and that they have not only an education character but are carried on through various forms of participation of workers in the practical processes of R&D. The very best scientifically justified program for accelerating and improving R&D will not guarantee its effectiveness if the masses of workers do not understand it, especially those in direct production. So it is necessary to make every worker understand the goals of accelerating R&D and making it more efficient, accept them as his goals and actively join in their realization so that he can also see and grasp the difficulties and problems involved in the fulfillment of these tasks and be able to prepare himself properly for them. Applicable in this connection and also in the area of research and development, is Lenin's idea that the most important duty of the party is to "watch soberly over the actual status of awareness and preparation of the whole class (and not only its communist vanguard) and all the working masses (not just the most highly developed people)."

Observing the subjective factor and integrating it with R&D in its name and its interests should be the main task, particularly of party organizations. They, above all, should be concerned about the balance between R&D and economic and social progress. The existence and objective interests of the working class are consistent with the pressures of R&D on the universalization of man, on rounding off the whole personality of man. This makes much greater demands on his education, dialectical thinking, world outlook and ethical and ideological maturity than was true of the fragmented personality. This enormous demand on the personality profile of socialist man brings out the fact that certain individuals, even in the ranks of the working class, still are not sufficiently aware of the need for overall personal development. Here it is very important to raise their thinking to the level of their material interests and arouse in them the need for personal universal self-realization. Without this need our educational and training efforts cannot be fully effective because education without self-education and training without self-training are not effective means of education and training. Any negative attitudes toward self-training and self-education call for intensified educational efforts. We must seek out functional methods, means and forms because the most important thing here is not what this or that working man thinks and wants but what his existence is like and the objective interests, needs and goals stemming from it.

If we are talking about the education and preparation of man for the demands and tasks of R&D, we have in mind his preparation in two basic spheres:
1. workers in R&D as the main "producers" of science and technology;
2. workers in the consumer sphere, the results of science and technology, especially in production. These are the leading and managerial cadres of the economy and the broad mass of producers. The preparation of workers in both these spheres limits the quality and efficiency of R&D. Also in the area of preparation and qualification for this differentiated subjective factor it is necessary to lay out specific and realistic goals and objectives, at least on the level we are able to attain in the area of science, engineering and the technology of production.

8491
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DIALECTIC LINKAGE BETWEEN ECONOMY, IDEOLOGY, POLITICS EXAMINED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 1, 6 Dec 83 pp 145-149

[Article by Anton Cyprich, candidate of sciences, member, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, College of Economics, Bratislava: "The Improved System's Political and Ideological Aspects"]

[Text] As the design underlying the tactical process of realizing the party and state organs' economic policy, the improved system places main emphasis on systematically developing the more and more consistent utilization of the economy's growth potential, and systematically improving efficiency in the expenditure of social labor.

The socialist state's economic policy finds its foundation and constant source of inspiration in the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Already Lenin emphasized the great importance of monitoring economic development: "The greatest task of mankind is to grasp . . . the objective logic of economic evolution . . . in its general and basic features, so as to adapt our social awareness to it the most definitely, clearly and critically." The essence of this idea is especially timely for socialism today. Managers, and leaders in particular, are able to successfully fulfill their social function only if they themselves, and especially their theoretical work stations, devote more attention to the timely questions of development, to the management system.

The improved system acts as an open system, and only when perceived as such is it able to maximally fulfill its social function, in view of the economy's diversity, growth rate, and the changing economic and political linkages. Its openness manifests itself especially in that the manager, systematically monitoring theory and practice, must adopt appropriate measures in due time to create room for the system's further development. Because the system is complex, attention must be focused on the basic relations between the individual subsystems, and on defining the content of the relations within the given system in general. Their common denominator is the requirement to contribute, through the most efficient utilization of all available resources, toward fulfilling the objectives of the party's program. From the nature of this linkage it follows that it is not only a factor connecting all the elements and subsystems into a rationally functioning whole, but also the path of their further development.

The improved system has the advantage that specifically for the main direction of society's development it seeks and adopts suitable instruments for making

collectives and individuals more active, these instruments and forms being in accord with the attained level of development of both the productive forces and social relations. Thereby the improved system creates the basis for the unity of ideological and political influence.

The improved system's main purpose is to attain a decisive turnaround in the efficiency of production. This objective can be achieved especially by realizing more fully the available possibilities of science. Today the decisive position in production and the maximum enhancement of social labor are attained by the country that purposefully develops science and maximally utilizes its possibilities within the shortest time possible. Realization of the party's economic and social policy can be ensured especially by developing science and maximally utilizing it. The importance of this task demands that we mobilize more effectively the entire scientific apparatus of the exact and the social sciences, and the ideological front, to seek the optimal ways for the development of science and its realization, of the reproduction process and structural changes, and for mobilizing the human factor. The theoretical and ideological front must help to find and implement the most effective ways and means of efficient economic growth. This front will serve economic practice by plotting, pointing out and blazing the way ahead. The primary purpose of scientific theory is the world's revolutionary transformation. Especially when realizing important tasks of entire society it is necessary to bear in mind the timeliness of Engels' idea that "the bolder and more unbiased science is, the more in accord it is with the interests and aspirations of the workers."

The key to science's becoming truly a direct productive force lies in further strengthening the link between science and the needs of practice, in faster realization of science and technology, through production's more pronounced self-interest in the innovation processes. In conjunction with the improved system's realization we may justifiably expect repeated confirmation of the fact that only the timeliness and social significance of the solved problem, and the extent to which it has been mastered are proof of scientific erudition. Practice raises the need to distinguish between training for scientific work and training for managing activity, and to strengthen the importance of objectivizing criteria in the system for the selection and training of scientists and of professional workers.

Our intelligentsia plays a unique role in the struggle to implement the party's economic policy. The improved system offers new and wider opportunities for the advancement of intellectuals in the technical sciences and the humanities. Fuller utilization of the revolution in science and technology, expansion of the processes of intensification to all spheres of society's life, improvement of the efficiency of management, and raising the level of political, intellectual and economic thinking cannot be achieved without the socialist intelligentsia's active participation. Specifically through active participation in implementing the party's program, our intellectuals find the most advantageous conditions for their self-realization, for the fulfillment of their talent, intelligence and abilities, gaining new sources of inspiration and knowledge for their own development and that of society.

By expanding and stepping up the processes of intensification, the improved system creates new room for linking physical with intellectual labor, for

intellectualizing work in general. It helps to strengthen the alliance of the working class, cooperative peasantry, and intelligentsia.

The improved system's realization presupposes the more efficient utilization and further development of intellectual thinking. Already Engels called attention to the need of developing it: "Industry managed collectively and in a planned manner by society directly presupposes the all-round development of the talents of people able to gain an overview of the entire system of production."

The requirement of new economic thinking is a very timely question of economic as well as sociopolitical importance. The foundation of this thinking is V. I. Lenin's scientific knowledge of labor productivity that ". . . in the final outcome is the most important and urgent for the new social order's victory." Thus the struggle to raise labor productivity is of immediate political as well as of economic and social importance. Politicalization of the economy is an accelerating developmental trend in the life of society and also in international relations. Lenin's mentioned idea must become the alpha and omega of professional training, education, and ideological and political indoctrination in the everyday activity of managers and economists. Every manager must reassess from its viewpoint his everyday practice.

The transplantation of new economic thinking must become a constant process of influencing by teachers at all higher educational institutions, and the subject of the everyday ideological and political work of the party, the trade unions and SZM [Union of Socialist Youth]. It is inseparably linked to the intensification of the national committees' work with their citizens, to the development of criticism and self-criticism, and to consistently bringing to account anyone who suppresses criticism. The sociopolitical significance of V. I. Lenin's mentioned idea demands that, as the criterion of the efficiency of our activity, we insist more and more persistently on specific results that correspond to, or tend toward, the level and growth rates of labor productivity in the technically most advanced countries, and not the average.

The development of new economic thinking is a very complex process, one in which it will be necessary to overcome the ingrained stereotype of complacent and nondemanding thinking, and to oppose efforts to hide behind "objective difficulties," overall "fulfillment" of the plan, etc. "Conflict" situations at workplaces will become more frequent as capable and professionally trained people, determined to fight meaningfully for the interests of society, clash with the complacent, the adherents to routine and the ones who no longer meet the requirements for their jobs. In the area of cadres this presupposes strict observation of the principles of the party's cadre policy and development of an atmosphere of creative dissatisfaction and growing challenge, of criticism and self-criticism, and of certainty that no one will suffer reprisals for having exercised criticism. More significant successes can be achieved in this area primarily if production and the economy of every workplace become more hungry for new suggestions to improve the efficiency of their economic activity. In this respect we have yet to learn how to use more effectively the entire system of economic and moral incentives.*

*For example, there are statutory regulations governing remuneration for innovation proposals, but the rewarding of new suggestions to make the workplace more efficient depends primarily on subjective evaluation by the superior.

When we investigate the conditions and possibilities of the improved system's realization, two things become pronounced: the broader social conditions under which the improved system is being realized, and its immediate nature. The instrument for mastering this task is the method of dialectical materialism. It is founded on the teaching regarding the contradictions that objectively exist in objects and phenomena.

Socialist society's main contradiction* is the one that exists between the growing productive forces and the actually existing system of socialist production relations, in their specific diversity and organic structure. The socialist productive forces can be fully realized only under relations that will systematically evoke the development of the former, through an entire system of adopted measures, norms and mechanisms. A source of inspiration in this process is the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. It, together with scientifically substantiated forecasts, permits control of this process and simultaneously enables it to function as a regulator.

It follows from the dialectic nature of socialist production relations that it is inevitable to strengthen within the system of economic, administrative and political measures also the linkages that will compel man as the main productive force--the subject and object of management--to seek the optimal structures for maximally enhancing the value of all the factors of production: man-power, machinery, energy, and raw materials.

When seeking new norms and structures, we must bear in mind that socialist production relations are expressions of a living organism and therefore they do not and cannot assume the nature of a permanently immutable linkage, structure or norm; and also that the improved system cannot be reduced merely to various indicators, directives or commands. Emphasis remains on the improved system's substantive orientation, which makes it possible to mobilize the wide masses more effectively, to seek new instruments more successfully, and simultaneously to perfect in this manner the improved system's indicators and directives.

Since in the process of his work man appears simultaneously as both a social and a private entity, every effort and the entire system of measures and norms must conform to the principle that whatever is good for society must be good for every worker as well. This is the harmony of entire society's interests and those of the individual.

The dialectic linkage between economics, ideology and politics finds its expression primarily in socialist society's main objective: the more and more complete satisfaction of the population's economic and cultural needs. This objective can be achieved only through the most efficient utilization of society's entire resources. As pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress: "To be able to fulfill our many-sided economic and social tasks, we have no choice but to rapidly raise labor productivity and significantly improve the efficiency of entire social production. Emphasis on efficiency, which must be discussed time and again, is the most important element of our entire economic strategy."

*A. P. Butenko, "Contradictions in the Development of Socialism as a Social System," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 10, 1982, p 21.

The importance of the linkage between economics, ideology and politics was underscored also at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1980, which also defined the content of this linkage: Work organization and training are two aspects that are inseparable under socialism. Scientific planning and management, the application of democratic principles, and development of the working collectives' initiative are an important factor in multiplying society's wealth. So far as the economy is concerned, the role of ideological work is "to comprehensively contribute to the successful struggle for the realization of the strategy underlying the party's economic policy, a strategy directed toward the high efficiency of production, economization, and the quality of all work."

These ideas indicate the ways of solving the mentioned contradiction. In overcoming it, special attention must be devoted to managing work, in which we have our greatest reserves for improving the efficiency of expending social labor. From an economic viewpoint, the importance of this aspect lies primarily in the fact that additional investment resources usually are not necessary to improve the efficiency of the social expenditure of labor, or minimal additional investments can achieve a substantial economic effect already within a short time.

Closer attention must urgently be devoted to improving specifically the efficiency of management at plants and institutions. Under the present conditions, the timeliness has clearly increased of Lenin's idea that whoever wants to manage must know the matter in question and must be an excellent administrator. Capable senior officials use the trade union, the Union of Socialist Youth, and every worker to uncover and utilize reserves. The system of training cadres is very important in cadre work, but it can fulfill expectations only if the selection itself is based on professional knowledge, talent, creative abilities and the art of working with people. We must not forget that a change of cadres is not merely a change of persons; it must ensure primarily a change in the style of work and must guarantee the mastering of new tasks. In other words, the new cadres must be on a higher level intellectually, professionally and politically; and they must be the vehicles of progressive development. The improved system's success depends primarily on our ability to implement in practice the principle that senior officials will have to prove day after day their suitability for their jobs, through the results of their own activity (results that compare favorably with the top indicators in the world).

In conjunction with the improved system's introduction there arise the prerequisites for qualitative solutions of the contradictions between the real state of our economy on the one hand, and the possibilities stemming from the attained level in the development of the productive forces and socialist production relations, and from the higher level of economic thinking on the other. When solving this contradiction, attention must be concentrated primarily on approximating or achieving harmony between the physical wear and obsolescence of machinery and equipment, and a qualitative turnaround in investment policy.

In addition to managing activity, also the technical level of machinery and equipment and the degree of their active use are basic prerequisites for the intensive development of our economy, for taking maximum advantage of the innovation processes' potential possibilities. In the final outcome it is the

inefficient use of machinery and equipment that causes, intentionally or unintentionally, the low efficiency of production, hampers economic and social development and deforms man's consciousness.

The improved system's realization cannot be imagined without the further development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of democratic centralism. One cannot be developed at the other's expense. The intensification of socialist democracy and the strengthening of democratic centralism tend toward the fuller utilization of the human factor's available possibilities in the process of social activity.

In socialist society the workers are co-owners of the means of production. Their increasing participation in managing and controlling the use of society's resources is natural and inevitable. The development of socialist democracy makes the working masses more active and has a demonstrable effect on economic development. Counterplanning is a specific form of socialist democracy's intensification. It leads to the workers' intensive participation in the life of their workplace. As a result there is a closer link between man and the products of his own labor, and his attitude to socialist ownership improves.

The strengthening of democratic centralism is determined primarily by the present nature of the productive forces, the growing complexity of the economy and its increasing sociopolitical significance. It strongly influences the more sensible functioning of the economic mechanism, and thereby the attainment of better results. In this respect there still are great possibilities that stem from the latest advances in scientific management, forecasting, the use of scientific, technical and economic data banks, etc.

Society's economic, social and cultural development depends on the activity of each and every one of its citizens. Only specific results that meet the strictest criteria can contribute toward the further growth of our socialist society.

1014

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SWISS VIEW OF EMIGRATION POLICY PROBLEMS

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 19-20 Feb 84 p 5

[Article by "sk" datelined Berlin 16 Feb 84: "The Dilemma of East Berlin's Emigration Policy--An Expression of Discontent in the GDR" [

[Text] Reports are mounting since the start of the year about a growing flood of exit applications by GDR citizens. At the same time, information has been received in the West about a more generous handling by the GDR authorities of at least a part of these applications. This raises the question of what the GDR emigration policy now is. A precise answer cannot be given, however, because western authorities, for understandable reasons, issue no positions taken and explanations and the GDR has always kept quiet about it on principle, because the topic is politically explosive.

Increasing Applications

It is the unanimous view of western diplomats in East Berlin that there is no doubt the number of exit applications has risen by leaps and bounds recently. The exact number of applications can only be guessed at. For the growing tendency among, mainly, young people in the GDR to leave the country and start a new life in the West, there are a number of reasons. First it can be observed that there evidently is a greater willingness to take risks among young people in the GDR to enforce their emigration objective. That may have something to do with the fact that the SED leadership during the campaign against the deployment of new U.S. intermediate-missiles in the FRG gave more elbow room to the peace activists in the GDR to remain credible to the peace movement in the West. Even if after the NATO rearmament started the attempt was made to restrict this leeway for action again, developments in the GDR yet show that the ones affected by it are intent on guarding the leeway won.

The most recent example for it is an "ecumenical peace prayer" with 3,000 attendants in Dresden on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the bombing of that city. After the event in Dresden's Kreuzkirche, some 1,000, mostly young, attendants walked with lit candles to the nearby remnant of the Frauenkirche. The demonstration was accompanied, to be sure, by civil security personnel in strength checking ID cards now and then but otherwise letting the attendants pass unmolested.

The GDR leadership's attitude toward the peace movement in its own country evidently has brought it about that larger sectors of the population are now no longer afraid to express public criticism about the situation in the country. Previously, criticism of the system was articulated only behind the screen of one's own four walls.

Greater Risk Willingness

The greater risk willingness is also expressed by that GDR citizens who made application for departing for the FRG more and more turn to diplomatic missions of western states in East Berlin to enforce their departure that way. According to information that can be regarded as reliable, GDR citizens who made exit applications have turned not only to the U.S. Embassy and the permanent FRG mission in East Berlin requesting help and support, but also to other western diplomatic missions.

Thorough interrogations by western embassy personnel of those who are seeking asylum have established that direct danger could be ascertained only in exceptional cases. What has been found throughout as a motive for emigration is a general discontent with the circumstances of life in the GDR.

No noteworthy deterioration of the supply situation in the GDR seems in evidence, according to the unanimous impression by western observers. Supplies in basic vital goods, even if they would hardly satisfy western needs, are for all intents and purposes assured, apart from occasional bottlenecks which have occurred as long as there has been a GDR. Undeniable also is the effort made by the GDR authorities to improve material circumstances. That includes a generous housing construction and reconditioning program. If the general discontent still is spreading, it may be due to the fact that the demands of the population are rising faster than the leadership can satisfy them.

Often they refer to the sense of being imprisoned in the GDR as a motive for a desire to leave. This sense evidently has grown stronger in recent years after the traffic to Poland without visas was done away with and the authorities also piled up barriers to traveling to other East Bloc countries. Many citizens without even the vaguest intention of not returning after visiting relatives in the FRG think it positively degrading to be deprived from taking such trips.

Dilemma of the SED Executive

The SED leadership, likely to be perfectly aware of the growing general discontent, evidently seeks to make life in the GDR more tolerable to the individuals over the long haul, not only by material incentives, but also by granting some small elbow room. That includes the tendency, visible for years, to make more of the German character of the GDR by reference to its own history and by promoting a distinct national consciousness. Being dependent on the Soviet Union, they are likely to have Moscow's approval of it. Western diplomats in East Berlin, at all that, are under the impression that the national development in the GDR, as promoted by the SED leadership, is under careful scrutiny in the Soviet Union and carries with it some mistrust.

In view of spreading discontent the East Berlin leadership evidently has decided to be more generous with exit applications, letting especially such citizens go west who are looked at as persistent trouble-makers. This, along with the intention to avoid lengthy diplomatic conflict with western embassies, also is likely to be the main reason for expediting emigration applications of persons seeking asylum in the U.S. Embassy and in the FRG's permanent mission in East Berlin.

In getting rid of its "insensitive" critics of the regime, East Berlin appears to be afraid of a snowball effect. The SED's emigration policy illuminates the government's dilemma. On the one hand, it seeks to get rid of a large conflict potential, letting it go to the FRG, on the other hand it must be afraid that it could give rise to a snowball effect with the risk of letting the matter go out of control. This alone can explain that, according to a report in SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, several applicants late in January were ordered to appear in police precincts in several GDR cities "at an unusual hour" where they were promised, with more or less indistinct proviso stipulations, they would get their exit permits soon. Often it takes only days for trains to take off with such cargo in the middle of the night.

Release Purchasing Lists

The assurance from East Berlin attorney Vogel that no money was paid, e.g., for the six GDR citizens who had sought refuge in the U.S. Embassy in January is not borne out by the facts. Their names are on release purchasing lists forwarded to the Bonn government. Normally, as far as one knows, the sums for purchasing the release of GDR citizens fluctuate between M 30,000 and 100,000, sometimes it is even more. As announcements from FRG authorities about this sort of slave-trading by the GDR leadership would evidently be extremely embarrassing, Bonn, for humanitarian reasons, is condemned to keeping quiet about it.

5885

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HUNGARY

ANSWERS TO FREQUENT QUESTIONS ABOUT NEW ELECTORAL LAW GIVEN

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Dec 83 p 5

[Article: "Questions and Answers About New Electoral Law"]

[Text] The National Assembly approved the new electoral law last week. As is well known, the bill had been put up for social debate earlier. Below we report suggestions frequently made during the debates to which experts of the Ministry of Justice replied after the final form of the law was known.

[Question] Most of those who spoke at the social debates approved the institution of a national election list for representatives to the National Assembly. At the same time, the point was frequently made at various places that the electoral law should be more detailed in this respect. For example, on the basis of recommendations by what political, social and interest representational organs should the Patriotic People's Front specifically name the candidates on the national elections list; how could individual voters make suggestions for naming candidates on the national list; and the inclusion of the names of alternate representatives on the national list.

[Answer] These proposals, which by nature also affect other provisions of the law, were not approved. It is not up to the law to fix detailed rules for the naming of candidates to the national list. The detailed rules for naming candidates must be developed by the Patriotic People's Front. In making their personal suggestions, the political, social and interest representational organs obviously also take into account the suggestions of individual groups of citizens. The naming of additional candidates, and as a function of this the institution of alternate representatives, would not be desirable because of the characteristic nature and function of the list.

[Question] Virtually without exception speakers at the social debates approved the creation of independent local boards in non-headquarter associate communities belonging to community councils. At the same time various proposals were made to use a different term than "independent local boards" (for example, village council, village leadership, representative body, associate community council-member committee). As reason they mentioned that the expression "independent local board" was out-of-date and could rouse mistaken notions both conceptually and emotionally.

[Answer] The suggestions were debated in a manysided way, and finally the view was developed that in this case we have to name a new legal institution that is without precedent in our socialist state life. For this purpose the law "borrowed" a term from the pre-liberation era. In the case of the terms proposed by those making the suggestion it is also possible to bring up unfavorable past associations as in the case of "independent local board." It is not the term that is of primary importance but its actual modern and socialist content. At any rate, in our state and political life we are familiar with many terms and legal forms which had an entirely different meaning in the past, but which no one can confuse substantively with its pre-liberation namesake.

[Question] The sphere of authority of the associate-community independent local boards, financial and other decisionmaking rights, and the relation system being implemented with the community council and its organs should be presented in greater detail in the electoral law, for without such provisions the independent local boards will not be able to fulfill their mission, and will not have adequate importance or prestige to carry out their tasks.

[Answer] The above social opinions are well founded but the regulation called for does not belong in the council law and its executive provisions. Accordingly, a statutory provision designed to modify the council law will have a new article regarding the tasks, sphere of authority, relations system and main operational rules of the independent local boards.

[Question] In the case of local council and megye council members--as with the national list of National Assembly representatives--it is justified for the council officials of the settlement (capital city, megye and capital city district) and for other important political and social office holders to start out on an election list. The main rules of the national list should apply also to this so-called "small list," particularly the provision that in respect to a list like this dual or multiple candidacies should not be obligatory.

[Answer] The suggestion was not approved. The institution of the national list, to be sure, violates to a certain degree the principle of representation bound to an electoral district, but this is made necessary for important reasons (a more proportional National Assembly representation of Hungarian society, the election of certain outstanding personalities in public life as representatives of all the people to membership in the National Assembly, and so forth). Given the identity of the basic principles and the rules, these characteristics also justify that certain characteristic rules should apply to election on the national list. These characteristics, however, do not appear important enough either in respect to the area of local councils that it should be necessary to use the voting list at these levels. If it were introduced, certain persons could be given an unjustified "advantage" in the election of council members, and this would not be compatible with the principle of equality in election.

[Question] The number, area, headquarters and serial number of the National Assembly electoral district should be established not by the Presidential Council but by the National Assembly. According to those making the

suggestion, this solution would better serve election democratism because it would expand the National Assembly's sphere of authority in this area.

[Answer] It is superfluous to burden the National Assembly with these questions. At the same time, the Presidential Council can make decisions in these matters with appropriate circumspection. There is no obstacle to the members of the National Assembly making recommendations to the Presidential Council in these questions by way of some National Assembly official or committee.

[Question] Virtually without exception, the participants in the social debates regarded it as the proper alternative that within the limits of the law every local council should itself establish the number of council electoral districts. They emphasized that this would better serve the realization of democracy than the solution in the original text of the plan to invest this sphere of authority in the capital city or megye council. At the same time, those provisions of the electoral law which fix--with adjustment to the number of inhabitants and legal status of the settlements (capital city districts)--the maximum and minimum number of local council districts, also prevent an unjustifiable disparity in the number of members of local councils, or the establishment of councils with too many or too few members.

[Answer] The suggestions were included in the final version of the law.

[Question] Many citizens expressed an opinion at the social debates regarding the scope of participants in the nominating assemblies. Only a few of them agreed with the draft text, according to which the residents of the electoral districts and the workers at work places in the area could participate in the nominating assemblies. The great majority supported the alternative proposal linked to the above mentioned provision which gives primarily the residents of the electoral district the opportunity to participate in nominating assemblies and make recommendations regarding individual candidates.

[Answer] According to the suggestions and the final text of the law, the representatives of residents of an electoral district and the workers at work places in the electoral district area can participate in the nominating assemblies.

[Question] In the opinion of some, the law should prescribe at least how many voters are necessary for a quorum in a nominating assembly, or how many votes a candidate must receive for a valid nomination.

[Answer] Regarding these suggestions the view emerged that it would damage the direct democratic nature of the nominating assemblies--as it would in the case of all elected bodies--if a minimally necessary quorum were prescribed. On the other hand it is the moral responsibility of those responsible for the preparation of political-organizational work that if few voters show up the nominating assembly should be postponed to a later date, and by then the voters should have been motivated to participate.

[Question] At the social debates there was a great deal of discussion of a need, promoted by electoral rules, for approved candidates--given equal conditions--to make their activities and ideas known to the voters up to the day before the election.

[Answer] The suggestion was approved, and the pertinent provision of the bill was brought in line with the social view of the majority.

[Question] The law should make it obligatory for the candidates to make their programs known to the voters.

[Answer] The driving force for the candidate to establish relations with the voters and to make his own program known is not a legal order making this obligatory but the recognition by the candidate himself that this is in his own well-conceived interest. The development of such a recognition should naturally be stimulated by enlightenment work and agitation by the committees of the People's Patriotic Front.

[Question] In almost every case the participants in the social debates took a stance on the question of what proportion the members of local councils should have on capital city and megye councils. In general, the participants rejected the basic order of the bill--namely, that the local council members should form a majority of the capital city and megye councils. Also, very few supported the position that the majority should come from among the residents in the local council areas without regard to whether they are local council members or not. Most of the participants in the debates agreed that the great majority of the capital city and megye council members should come from among local council members.

[Answer] The position that was taken is rational and logical, but it seemed appropriate to define exactly what is meant by the "great majority." A two thirds ratio is appropriate to representing the interests of the local councils, and at the same time it provides for the participation in council work of persons whose cooperation can make the work of the body more successful.

[Question] Some objections were raised at the social debates that the bill did not stipulate who among the candidates on the national list should be regarded as having been elected.

[Answer] In response to the suggestion, the new text of Article 12 paragraph (1) of the law stipulates that a candidate is to be regarded as an elected National Assembly representative who receives more than one-half of the total valid vote providing that more than half of the electorate voted.

[Question] The majority of the participants agreed with the election of an alternate representative or alternate council member. Division of opinions occurred, however, over several questions. Some objected to the fact that the bill did not regularize their legal status and regarded the 25 percent vote ratio necessary for election as too much or too little. They regarded it as risky, as time passes, to have an alternate move into a vacant representative or council position.

[Answer] The arguments do not justify a change in the text of the law; it is not up to the law to regularize the legal status of alternative representatives and council members. Also, it is questionable whether it is necessary at all. On the basis of socio-political requirements, the forms of cooperation have been developed in all certainty during public life work, but these forms cannot represent work performed in place of the actual representative and council member. The 25 percent vote ratio is assurance of a serious voters' confidence, but at the same time does not represent an exaggerated requirement. We believe it is an unfounded electoral concern that if after some years the alternate representative or council member may become unworthy of the position he should not be elected beforehand. If it does happen--and this would certainly be rare--it cannot make questionable the viability of the alternate representative and alternate council member institution itself.

[Question] Recall must apply also to alternate representatives and council members.

[Answer] The institution of recall assumes that someone holding an office is not performing his tasks satisfactorily or becomes unworthy of their fulfillment in exercising the rights of that position or fulfilling obligations. The alternate representative and council member, however, is only presumptive to the representative or council office, and therefore does not "merit" electoral disapproval as expressed by recall. However, in the elimination of an alternate representative or council member commission, the law differentiates between the types of cases (the loss of incompatibility of franchise), as a consequence of which the alternate representative or council member who commits a crime or exhibits behavior incompatible with the confidence of the voters is divested of this capacity.

[Question] At many social debates they disapproved of the wording of Article 15 paragraph (1) by which a National Assembly representative or a council member could be recalled if "he is unable to carry out his duties." They suggested instead the wording "if he does not carry out."

[Answer] The suggestion expresses more exactly than the present wording the fact that the use of recall is justified in the case of someone who does not carry out his duties, although he undertook to do so and has the possibility to perform them. Article 15 paragraph (1) is changed accordingly.

[Question] The law should prescribe that a proposal for recall must indicate the reason. According to those who made this suggestion, the citizens who make the decision in the matter of recall must know the causes beforehand in order to decide this important matter circumspectly. Also, the National Assembly representative or the council member must know the charges brought against him in order that he can make a statement on them.

[Answer] The pertinent paragraph of the law has been changed in accordance with the suggestion.

[Question] In the social debates little support was given to the alternative proposal linked to this section according to which small associate communities

should elect at least three community council members with the formation of electoral districts.

[Answer] In accordance with the opinion of the majority, this version was not put into the text of the bill. Small associate communities are also justified in having electoral districts.

[Question] In most of the social debates they supported the alternative proposal linked to this section according to which in communities with a population of less than 500 persons the candidates of the electoral districts may also be nominated at combined nominating assemblies (in the text of the bill the upper population limit was set at 300 persons).

[Answer] In accordance with the suggestion, the text of the law was modified according to the alternative proposal.

[Question] If an electoral district does not have two approved candidates, the new nominating assembly must be held within 6 days, not 3 as provided in the bill. This much time is unconditionally necessary for preparatory work.

[Answer] Article 44 paragraph (2) and Article 46 paragraph (2) were modified in accordance with the suggestion.

[Question] At many debates they dealt with the alternative proposal linked to Article 48 of the bill, according to which the nomination of two or more candidates should also be obligatory at the new nominating assembly. In support of their position they cited that the acceptance of the alternative would open a "small gate" to avoid naming two or more candidates, which from the viewpoint of the reform would endanger the realization of a decisively important institution.

[Answer] Dual or multiple candidacies were approved in the law.

[Question] The bill also proposed as an alternative possibility a reduction in the number of capital city and megye council members. The effort to reduce the number of personnel met with the approval of the participants in the debates.

[Answer] With consideration for the position taken at the social debates and in the interest of increasing the efficiency of the bodies, the law sets the capital city council membership at a maximum of 151 and the megye council membership at a maximum of 101. According to the original thinking it would have been necessary to elect one capital city council member for each 10,000 inhabitants, and in the megyes--depending on the population and the number of local councils--70 to 120 council members.

6691
CSO: 2500/205

POLITICAL SATIRE CABARET REOPENS IN WARSAW

Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 4, 22 Jan 84 p 12

[Article by Urszula Bielous: "Pietrzak's Return"]

[Text] Jan Pietrzak is the idol, the number one star of the Polish cabaret. There is not the slightest doubt about it. Alongside "Pinwnica pod Baranami" [The Rams' Cellar], "Pod Egida" [Under the Aegis of...] has been the prime Polish cabaret of political satire. A question arises: Has it remained so?

Pietrzak once more performs in the capital. No longer "Under the Aegis of...", but simply as the Jan Pietrzak Cabaret. It is enough. People will flock anyhow.

And indeed they came: chic, dressed up, gold-gilded, Pewex smoking. The tickets are expensive, 500 zloyts each, 1500 when bought from scalpers, but still sold out 3 months in advance. It would be worthwhile to consider the audience: Who came? Judging by those perfume scents and cigarettes, by the gold and the dresses bought somewhere "higher" than the boutiques, it was the new bohemia that came, the new petty bourgeoisie, the creme de la creme of present-day society.

Crazy Cool

An hour before the spectacle was due to open, the audience started to fill in the Ewa fashion house cafe; the tables were put tightly together, and willy-nilly one had to listen to somebody else's conversation. The talk was about being cool. Above all about being cool. Surely, all day long they had talked and thought about money, at night it was time to relax away from such difficult matters. This was clearly emphasized by the 30-year old man sitting in front of me, who first entertained the party telling them that he intended to go to Zakopiec soon with his kid, and that was going to be terrific, and then he started to list various names of expensive sport gear I know nothing about, and finally recalled something he had heard about England, or--to be more precise--about being crazy cool there. He said: A guy comes back from work, puts on corduroys and sneakers, and goes out--just imagine!--to a pub. What a life!

Everybody enjoys the kind of life he deserves, and that was just what Pietrzak was talking and singing about: the funny tinsel and sulks. He knows that his

countrymen for years now have been clamoring for cool, more cool, whereby young people mean rock music, and their elders the kind of cabaret where, for instance, they can laugh at themselves without even realizing it. Nobody feels responsible, nobody gets the blues, everybody applauds stormily.

Second Coupon for a Veal Bone

Once I made the effort and looked at the results obtained by the Pietrzak cabaret. It turned out that almost all of them contained stylistic shtick and conventional cliches, almost all the reviews expressed rapture multiplied by ecstasy, phrases such as: ""Pietrzak assails," "Pietrzak strikes at," "Pietrzak denounces." No one, or virtually no one, has defined what he [Pietrzak] hates most, and what stirs up his his guts. But he is stirred up by caddishness, but obtuseness, by dull thoughtlessness. And while he realizes he has no monopoly on truth, he is sure to be right concerning some truths, and therefore he scorns--loudly and emphatically--one thing or another. But even when he indiscriminately insults everything and everybody he has the sacred gift of not harming anybody's ego; curious, isn't it? He is so warm and sympathetic, both in private and on stage, but as matter of fact, he detests the guys who tell their dreams about English pubs they have never seen. He detests Pewex, which for him signifies a certain state of mind, he detests tinsel, gold or ring fingers stretched towards him and begging for an encore.

Here, unlike in most other cabarets, the criticism of mental and social phenomena is not restricted to a few tricks or shticks, to turning some current queue-line witticisms into a series of jokes. If Pietrzak says, for instance, "long live and flourish, my old woman!", or ridicules the ration-card manners and describes his fight for a veal-bone coupon, one has to laugh hollowly. Or his terrific monologue about his trip back from the United States to Poland in the first weeks of martial law: he describes there all the paradoxes, the national tragedy, but he does it as if he wished to save us from something, to insure us against something. Perhaps against ourselves. Mockery here, a wink there, but actually the man says it all seriously. And therefore, when one gets sad, simply sad, Pietrzak enters the stage in a changed mood, laughter fades on his lips, and he starts a bitter song about martyred, poor Poland. He sings and sings for a fairly long time, in an almost maudlin way, now and again asking the audience boldly to repeat some verses together with him; then the audience gets tense, tight, does not know what to do, until Master Jan, the never-failing Master Jan, fires away another crazy monologue to make people cool again. And once more ringed fingers stretch to call for an encore, to demand more fun and cool.

Some people were taping Pietrzak's monologues. Perhaps they will replay them at home, reanimate the mirage of fun and cool, perhaps they will laugh at his shtick together with their kids, automated gadgets, larch-wood flooring, glazed tiles and terracottas. Even children are nowadays referred to as objects: "Kids" [bamby]. Children and tiles, Pewex and pigheadedness, crazy queuing for quilts and underpants, always accompanied by chubby-faced thoughtlessness.

Franek Kimono from Gombrowicz

Jan Pietrzak is now a lonely guy in his cabaret. He does not complain about it, but it can be clearly seen. He has a handful of young actors, the sensitive Antonina Krzyszton and the theaterically gifted Krzysztof Jaroszynski, as well as Piotr Fronczewski, who is the only one of his former partners who has not abandoned the cabaret ship.

If at the beginning I mentioned caddishness and chubby-faced thoughtlessness, narrow-mindedness and supermediocrity, Franek Kimono is almost no different from many Gombrowicz protagonists who belong to the great dramatic repertory. The same gestures, airs, and postures, the same formation, the same symbol of organic dislike of anything that rises above such a mentality. Tragedy and cabaret are not all that much different: only the convention differs.

Fronczewski obviously is aware that he plays cabaret, and therefore he talks and contorts, he laughs and does not engage in dramatics. He is the perfect partner for Pietrzak. When he announced how much the world can change thanks to Halley's Comet, the audience curls up laughing, because the actor intensifies the absurd lines by perfectly chosen means of stage expression. The audience laughs and the actor laughs, but who are they laughing at?

A Few Words With Pietrzak

He is able to talk neither about laughter nor about himself; to tell the truth, he dislikes it. He is ready to talk to anybody who is interested, he likes talking, but in generalities. He does not recall when and why he laughed for the first time in his life. He does not remember whether it was something clever or stupid, a funny or a sad event. "I have a knack for irony, that's for sure."

There are many sayings about laughter: "to laugh oneself silly," or "he laughs best who laughs last." Laughter, unfortunately, dissolves altogether: it turns into wisdom and into stupidity.

12485
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ROLE OF JOURNALISTS DEBATED

Rem Criticizes Journalists

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 1, 4 Jan 84 pp 2, 15

[Article by Jan Rem: "Masks"]

[Text] The role of journalists in the political and broad intellectual life of Polish society was a dominating one. This does not have to be. This is a local peculiarity. In the Soviet Union political documents and statements made by persons actively engaged in these fields, on the one hand, and fiction on the other hand, have greater significance and obtain wider circulation than journalistic writings. In our country the former are a ceremonial articulation of political direction. Only television, press and radio produce (or do not produce) diagnoses, proposals and opinions for public circulation. (Of course, the truth that I am uttering is somewhat simplified and exaggerated since the voice of authority carries its own weight. This pertains to all of Gen Jaruzelski's speeches, because they are addressed directly to society, but it also pertains to those speeches and reports made throughout the entire history of the Polish People's Republic during historical moments.) But fiction, as a whole, has for a long time in Poland been of completely secondary importance. It influences the thinking of a very narrow strata of literary fans, since the masses read the old prose (the classics), thrillers, and historical essays.

The importance of journalists as moderators of political life dates back to 1945, and after a lapse of several years, has continued uninterruptedly since 1956. It maintains itself thanks to the unusual expansion of forms of journalism. Reporting has replaced literature as a mirror of everyday life, the extractor of the meaning of that life, the recorder of changes in customs, and the teacher of a critical way of looking at our ordinariness. The column had a dominating teaching role among the intellectuals, it was the dictator of comprehensive thought, and imposed a method of evaluation. Journalism made political life versatile, colorful and controversial. Through journalism, the average individual evaluated the governing process and made political and ideological choices. The mentality of entire generations was formed within the orbit of influences of certain periodicals. Meetings on the subject of politics, even books, were secondary intellectually to newspaper journalism. It also influenced the content of the television program which, to all intents and purposes, was a toned-down transmission of journalistic writings directed at the masses which do not read periodicals or the more important newspapers.

I say all of this using the past tense, although this is not sufficiently justified. It is true that the force of journalism has diminished, just as has its resonance, but it still remains a principle power, not threatened either by literature, the thought vitality of discussions at meetings, or by the extensive underground or [Radio] Free-Europe counterpropaganda, because it has a limited circulation and a separate, in part, clientele. Journalism, therefore, has remained the principle power, but its position is weaker. Reporting, on the whole, has shrunk; journalism and the column have lost their force; television journalism has one-sided purposes and shows neither imagination or innovation. The daily newspapers and television have become technical transmitters of government statements, to an unprecedented degree. The ministers today often replace journalists, even in their reporting duties.

I do not think it is necessary to cultivate a model of political and intellectual life in which journalism plays a dominating role. This model has serious faults. It is based on an uncertain, changeable, ideological and chronic semi-dilettantism. It is easy, in this model, for myths, half-truths, and falsehoods, to penetrate into social consciousness and be absorbed. The journalists' personal phobias, resentments, complexes, personal ambitions or anti-pathies, mass-produced hasty judgments, and sometimes personal bigotry, have a reverberation that is disproportionately high in relation to their actual worth. It happens sometimes also that small political groups, some petty schemes or conspiracies, having drawn in a couple of journalists, receive unusual publicity and thus have an effect on public life. Really, I am not succumbing to any kind of journalistic mysticism, nor do I see its role as being messianic. But to consent to degradation of the importance of journalism and believe that this will improve public life there must be certainty that the gap which occurs will be filled by other, more perfect, thought-creating instruments and tools which serve to disseminate and exchange viewpoints, arguments, strivings or moods. Meanwhile, we do not see that anything besides the press and television is expanding. A lesser influence by television and the press may mean that the gap that is opening up will be filled by the so-called "other circulation", which is politically opposing and aspires to complete rule. Failure by press and television to meet various social needs, such as searchings for answers to difficult and racking questions, information, a climate for exchange of ideas, or the need for dispute and criticism of ruling, is tantamount to forfeiting the battle without a struggle.

I believe that journalism's shrinking role is due primarily to the poor political and moral frame of mind of a large number of journalists, who did not give enough thought to various matters. In the fall of 1980 the journalist community readily cloaked itself in the penitential sackcloth cut by Bratkowski [Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the dissolved Polish Journalists Association] and others. The journalists allowed themselves to be persuaded that they are the main culprits of the crisis because they went along with the propaganda of success. This is not true. In the Polish press in the latter half of the 1970's criticism and discussion dominated which created the program foundations for the present reformational political line. The propaganda of success was a secondary current and not until recently did it misrepresent reality, because, after all, previously there were successes which were deserving of popularity. It is too bad that the party leadership in the fall of 1980

did not conduct an all-out defense of the journalist community against the self-styled prosecutors who emerged from this group and took over its direction, making false accusations. Unfortunately, the representatives of the party authorities and the journalists connected with them took a defensive, not very forceful, position. (Not until the congress of the Polish People's Republic Democratic Party did the first secretary of the Central Committee speak out unequivocally on this matter.) The rush to erase the alleged sins led the majority of the journalist community in 1980 and 1981 to support the leadership of "Solidarity", or to take a position very close to it. The belief that they were jumping on the winning bandwagon played a considerable part in this change in position. Anyone who does not quickly change the colors under which he is playing will be doomed by the new masters to professional extermination. In the fall of 1981, the PZPR found itself in the position of a defender of the last bastions of its propaganda machine.

But although in 1981 a large part of the journalist community went over to the other side, early in 1982 only a minority, extreme in its hostility, left the press or was removed. In short, in numbers, and particularly in quality, a considerable part of the present journalist staff took a larger or smaller part in the recent struggle or sat on the fence, attempting to act as mediator. A community which only a short while ago had rushed to confess its "sins" from the 1970's and beat its breast in expiation in front of the Morski Hotel was not psychologically capable in 1982 of making another, reverse, as it were, accounting of its mistakes and stupidity of 1980-1981. These matters were suppressed and ashamedly concealed by silence, referred to only through insinuation. Thus a considerable number of journalists found themselves in a morally humiliating and politically dishonest situation. This, naturally, has an effect on what is being produced. What is being produced has not contained, nor does it contain, an honest accounting for the year 1981. The next need to "save face" is revealed in the tendency to rescue the "1981 values" in journalism, i.e., the discredited slogans, the waiting to see what happens next, the playing to the public, and the escape to secondary problems or into a non-ideological professionalism.

It appears necessary to remove the veil of silence from the press' most recent past. Both an internal and public (journalistic matters never proceed confidentially) discussion should be held on the role of the press in the 1970's, about the errors and deceptions of 1980 and 1981, about the scope and course of the present reforms and their far-reaching meaning, about the determinants and limitations of socialist renewal, and the logic of the political struggle which, under the changing conditions in Poland, will go on for a long time. The discussion must also include criticisms, the limits of the freedom of speech, and the service role of journalism: to whom, what, and why. Only when the journalists are freed of the concealments and suppressions will they be liberated from a situation that is ambiguous and fraught with fear. They will then be able to speak out openly and take a real position on what is happening today. Pretense dominates now and there is a dilemma as to the combatant feelings of 1981 and the insincere accommodation to the propaganda tasks which employers today assign. They are being performed poorly and with internal resistance.

Therefore, the silence and falsity in the little world of journalism must be disturbed, not only for the good of the journalists practicing but also with a thought for the future. Polish journalism will not recover its previous standing if young people entering this profession find themselves in editorial offices staffed by people pretending to practice it, with no relevance to their opinions or likes or dislikes professed privately. Nor will the profession regain its standing when the young find themselves in offices dominated by people who in 1981 loyally stayed with the party and courageously fought the enemy. That group, following the example of all combatant circles, became set in its role of the flogger of the enemy, and I am afraid that it will continue to play only this tune, becoming outdated with time in the face of the complex and subtle challenges of the future.

During entire decades, Polish journalism was selective in its cadre. It attracted the most capable of the politically active thinkers. The continuation of this tendency does not depend on salary or glamor, but on the standing of the profession in public life, its espousal of ideology, its conformity with the facts, and the climate in the editorial offices.

I think that the troubles that I am pointing to here may appear as luxuries to some in the face of the difficult and numerous tasks which propaganda must deal with today. But it is not right to contrast the rough needs of the present with long-range luxury concerns. Journalism which loses its ideological authenticity, its good ear for social moods and its feeling of mission for the changing of these moods, will only be a kind of technical means for transmitting a text which it has not created or experienced. Yet there is a lack of sufficiently strong and fruitful idea-creating centers outside of journalism for it to fulfill only a transmission role. This would mean a decay of intellectual life on our side of the fence, loaded with setbacks of a historical dimension and depth.

Ideological Shortcomings Emphasized

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 10, 12 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Lobman: "The Egalitarianism of Conclusions"]

[Text] In the first issue this year of TU I TERAZ, Jan Rem deals with the situation in Polish journalism. The author severely and rightly assessed the position of a large part of our journalism community, particularly during the 1980-1981 period and during the past 2 years. That part of the column is most specific and meaningful. The author's other ruminations are of a more general nature.

In the short history of People's Poland our journalism has lived through many periods. It had its important achievements and experienced crises which were sometimes painful. Therefore, any kinds of judgments expressed "in general" or according to a "through entire decades" formula, seem to be both true and untrue, depending on the period or event to which they are applied.

I believe that journalism differs basically from many (although not all) other professions in that, aside from the requirements necessary for the accomplishment of every specialized work, such as professional competence, knowledge, intelligence, etc., without which, of course, there cannot be a good journalist, it requires its adherents to have a clearly defined philosophy and complete ideological willingness to fight for all of the truths they profess. This applies to the dissemination of these truths as well as to active opposition to actions and viewpoints, which in the author's viewpoint, or according to him, are damaging or untrue. This, of course, pertains to everything that constitutes the core of the profession--political, economic, social or cultural journalism.

It is most desirable that every citizen, every working person, be a person of ideology, an aware individual. But although I submit that we can imagine an excellent engineer or doctor practicing his profession competently and usefully, from the standpoint of society, with some political or ideological indifference, I believe that not even the most capable, well-read and educated individual can be a good journalist if he is politically or ideologically indifferent.

True, Rem several times speaks critically of people practicing journalism "in isolation from viewpoints", and warns against "a loss of ideological authenticity", but he does not make it clear that ideological matters are basic and crucial. Perhaps that is why his column contains statements with which I cannot agree.

Let us begin with a less glaring matter. The author states that "during entire decades, Polish journalism was selective in its cadre. It attracted the most capable of the politically active thinkers." In the light of what he himself wrote earlier, in the light of the confusion in some of the journalist ranks during the period of crisis when the "self-styled prosecutors" "took over its direction", this is perhaps, at least in part, an incorrect statement. Anyway, I cite only one, although very extreme, example of one of these "self-styled prosecutors" who took over "direction", an indisputably capable and indisputably "politically thinking" (only how?!) and is now, before the microphones of Voice of America, showing what he is worth based exclusively on the capabilities and "political thinking" of cadre selection. And what about all those others who every day are going from the materialists camp to the fideists camp as easily as if they were changing a pair of gloves or an enticing brassiere which is now, with the passage of many years, dispensable?

But another of Rem's statements appears to me to be more important. He writes that the young people in journalism should not go into "editorial offices dominated by people who in 1981 loyally stayed with the party and courageously fought the enemy. That group, following the example of all combatant circles, became set in its role of the flogger of the enemy, and I am afraid that it will continue to play only this tune, becoming outdated in time in the face of the complex and subtle challenges of the future."

It would seem that precisely these people, who during the period of extreme crisis, kept their backbones, who had enough sociopolitical experience or knowledge to correctly evaluate the situation, who placed a higher enough value on ideological principles than the real or imagined professional or personal *weltschmerzes* not to allow themselves to be taken in by demagogues or be intimidated by shouters--people who, to use Rem's words, were not guided by the belief that it was convenient to "jump on the winning bandwagon"--that these people passed a difficult test and furthermore are also fit to practice this ideological profession and pass their experience on to the young adherents of this art. But it turns out that this is not so. Rem treats the people who "in 1981 loyally stayed with the party and courageously fought the enemy" not as people who passed a test of intellect and character, but as barrators who during the course of some kind of squabble about a boundary line "became set in their role as flogger" and will never be good for anything again.

This is perhaps a fundamental misunderstanding. And a "two-sided" one, at that. On the one hand, the fact that these people knew what was what in a very complicated and sometimes totally equivocal situation would make one assume that they are also able to understand the "complex and subtle challenges of the future."

On the other hand it does not look as if all of the enemies in our country and outside of it will disappear, and that the "role of the flogger" will become totally unnecessary. This role is still one (although far from just one) of the necessary skills of the journalism profession and it would be well for someone to pass this skill, and even more, the sense of the need for this skill, to the younger generation.

And on the whole, in every profession in the world, the traditions and skills that have been gathered through the years, are valued. No one, once and for all time, has concocted all of the problems, skills, and complications of any profession. Anyway, such concoctions of things long discovered is a total waste of energy. If, according to Rem, some people are bad because they did not pass the test (there is no disagreement here), and others are no longer useful because they did pass the test, then--under such a peculiar egalitarianism of deduction of conclusions, although not an evaluation of attitudes--the question arises: where is this future Polish journalism, about which the author of TU I TERAZ speaks with justifiable concern, supposed to come from? Perhaps from the pen of Jan Rem? But this is a task beyond one individual. Even one as capable as Jan Rem.

Rebuttal by Rem

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 14, 17 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by Jan Rem: "Self-Flogging"]

[Text] In replying to the argument by editor Jerzy Lobman, "Egalitarianism of Conclusions", (TRYBUNA LUDU, 12 Jan 84), with my column in TU I TERAZ (4 Jan 84) titled "Masks", I must accomplish a complex task: argue, at the same time flog myself, and also translate some of my conclusions from TU I TERAZ into a more simple, understandable language.

1. Argument

Lobman accuses me of dividing journalists into those that are competent and those that are incompetent, as a substitute for political criteria of division. And, the TRYBUNA LUDU editor adds, what about the competent ones if they are enemies, or those of no ideology who do poor work on the editorial staffs?

The division according to competence and according to ideological orientation is two different divisions, about which I speak separately. Indeed, political and professional characteristics are somewhat connected, because a competent enemy is a lot of trouble, while a dull-witted ally is, in general, a great misfortune. In "Masks", contrary to Lobman's accusations, I treat ideological matters as being basic and crucial. I even--I admit--give them somewhat more attention than I would personally like, for I believe that political divisions, and not ideological ones, are of crucial importance at this time. In any case, I am more interested in the political ones.

However, the conclusions of the author of "Egalitarianism" are convoluted when he says that I am not telling the truth when I say that the most capable people went into journalism. Lobman says that the ideological confusion which prevailed in the journalist circles contradicts the thesis on the positive selection of cadre, a selection in which competence and not ideology should be considered.

In "Masks" I talked about the problems of Polish journalism over a period of many years. The positions taken by some of the journalist community have not been constant due to the complex and sometimes stormy political history of the Polish People's Republic. Lobman writes about the leading free-thinkers now lying prostrate in the church, or about those who exchanged party microphones for Voice of America microphones. And after all, at one time, many of them were ideologically above reproach. And so according to ideological criteria also, they had the confidence of the authorities. There is no way in which their future transformations, acrobatics, or actually turnaround, could have been foreseen so as to be able to say "away with you, you competent one, because when the going gets rough you will leave us."

2. Self-flogging.

Jerzy Lobman is completely correct when he berates me for saying that the young should not find themselves on editorial staffs dominated by people who in 1981 stayed loyally with the party, since this group is capable only of one-sided action, and is set in the role of "flogger of the enemy". I wrote something other than what I wanted to say, because it appears from the text that I am ascribing these limitations to all of those who took the party's position in 1981. This opinion is so ridiculous that I could not have expressed it deliberately. Therefore, I will explain what I wanted to say.

3. Translation

My misleadingly expressed thought, after clarification and translation into a simpler political language, is as follows:

There are, in some editorial offices, people who, in the program of struggle and agreement, approve only of agreements and are unwilling to make a struggle. And they interpret agreement very broadly and are ready to extend it even to the active opponents of socialism. Therefore, they adjust, pretend, bide their time, and play to the public. They are ready, if circumstances are favorable, to renew the battle with the PZPR which they conducted in 1981 (or sat on the fence).

On the other hand, there are among the group of journalists who stayed with the party in 1981 those who, in the program of struggle and agreement, approve only of struggle, and are unwilling to enter into agreement. Their thinking is reflected in one-sided actions, and single-directionality of writing--simplifications. It was about this group that I wrote that they: became set "in their role as flogger of the enemy and I am afraid that they will continue to play only this tune, becoming outdated with time in the face of the complex and subtle challenges of the future."

Therefore, I want to ascribe this characteristic not to all of the advocates of the PZPR in 1981, but only to those who accept only half of the dialectically interwoven program tenet: struggle and agreement.

Of course, this opinion in no way deprecates the value of politically struggling journalism. Nevertheless, the viewpoints that I express here, I admit, may not be sufficiently "ideologically zealous", which may make it possible for editor Jerzy Lobman to continue the argument.

Finally, let me say that not only I am guilty of obscuring my own thoughts, but also the editorial staff of TU I TERAZ. In my column, during the entire time, I was describing people "who had a larger or lesser part in the recent struggle with the PZPR." Without my knowledge or permission, the passage "with the PZPR" was deleted from the text. Thus the impression arose that I was treating all of those taking part in the struggle in an egalitarian fashion, regardless of which side they were on. I would think that this was not someone's manipulation of my text, but a proofreading error. Nevertheless, it is surprising that something printed in capital letters was overlooked.

9295
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POLAND

DEVELOPMENT OF U.S.-VATICAN RELATIONS PRAISED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 4, 22 Jan 84 p 2

Article by Rev Adam Boniecki (Rome): "U.S.-Vatican Diplomatic Relations"

Text The communique released simultaneously in Washington and the Vatican informs that "Today, 10 January 1984, the Holy See and the United States, desiring further development of the friendly relations that already exist, decided by mutual agreement to establish diplomatic relations, at the level of nunciature by the Holy See and the ambassadorial level by the United States."

When in 1783 the representatives of 13 North American colonies arrived in Paris to sign the treaty ending the War of Independence, the then apostolic nuncio in France, in the name of Pope Pius VI, conveyed his best wishes for the new state to the chairman of the American delegation, Benjamin Franklin, together with assurance that the ports of Civitavecchia and Ancona would be open to the American fleet. In 1784, with congressional approval, the Holy See named an apostolic vicar in Washington, John Carroll, who 6 years later became the bishop of Baltimore. In 1797 the United States sent its first consul to Rome, an American of Italian origin, Giovanni Battista Santori. In 1848, in the wake of reforms of the Papal State undertaken by Pius IX, Congress, recognizing the approval with which the American public opinion greeted these reforms, and following President Polk's initiative, began to consider the possibility of raising the U.S. representation to the Holy See to ambassadorial rank. Friendly relations with the Vatican broke down suddenly: in 1867 Congress introduced an amendment to the budget law which said that "no federal funds may be provided for the maintenance of representation at the Holy See." This rule would be in force without interruption until 18 November 1983, i.e., until it was repealed at the motion of Richard Lugar, Republican senator from Indiana. Attempts to repeal the amendment were made twice before, the last time in 1977 by Florida Senator Richard Stone (of the Jewish faith). Both attempts ended in failure.

When President Reagan signed the new law on 29 November 1983, he said that it "corrected an historical anomaly."

How did the break in diplomatic relations between the United States and the Holy See come about?

Two years before, President Lincoln requested Pope Pius IX through diplomatic channels to nominate an American cardinal. Soon after, the bishop of New York, John MacSloskey, was elevated as the first American in the Sacred Collegium.

Historians claim that independently of the official pretext (and it was clearly a mere pretext) there were two reasons. The first one involved the anticipation that the days of the Papal State, which was then confined only to Lazio, were numbered, and that it would be preferable to secure the good will of the new Kingdom of Italy. Secondly, after Civil War there were tensions and sharp divisions in the United States. First Lincoln and then his successor Andrew Johnson favored national accord, whereas the Senate demanded severe measures. The pope, who did not interfere in the internal affairs of America, nevertheless declared that slavery should be abolished, condemning it and pleading for a peaceful solution. The representative of the United States in Rome, Rufus King, held a similar position. The budgetary decision was treated as a reprisal against the consul and the pope. This is easier to understand when one takes into account the anti-papist attitudes of various protestant denominations which were then dominant in America.

The break in relations occurred in an unprecedented manner, not so much formally as via facti. King received an order to close down the legation. However, he had no instructions as to how he was supposed to arrange this matter with the Holy See. After transmitting protests from Rome he went to Washington, where he tried to have the decision changed. Ultimately, facing failure, he sent his resignation to President Johnson in 1868. In March of that year his name was still listed in the Annuario Pontificio among the names of other diplomats accredited to the Holy See. Consular relations were maintained until 20 September 1870.

Nevertheless, the unilateral breaking of diplomatic relations did not mean that the United States did not care about maintaining contacts with the greatest moral authority in the world. Some examples: in January 1919 President Woodrow Wilson stopped in Rome on his way to the Versailles Conference in order to inform Pope Benedict XV about his famous 14 points designed to secure a lasting peace. He was the first president to enter the Vatican. The next one was President Eisenhower who, 40 years later, was received by Pope John XXIII on 6 January 1959.

The form that in a way substituted for normal diplomatic relations had been introduced by President Roosevelt, with the sympathetic acceptance of Pius XII. On the eve of World War II Roosevelt sent a personal representative to the Vatican, nominating Myron C. Taylor for the post (the expenditures involved belonged in the budget of

President's Office rather than of the Senate). Taylor's presence contributed to many worthwhile actions during the war, particularly involving material aid.

President Truman undertook efforts to restore normal diplomatic relations, but the violent protest of Congress forced him to give up. In view of Truman's failure, his successors, Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy (a Catholic), and Lyndon Johnson, were forced to forego such attempts.

During the Nixon presidency the White House returned to the practice of a "personal representative of the President." The post was taken by Henry Cabot Lodge, who also occupied it during the presidencies of Ford and Carter. In 1977 Carter attempted to change the famous amendment of 1867. His proposal was approved by the Senate but died in the House of Representatives.

In 1977 David Walters became the first Catholic personal representative to the pope. In 1981, President Reagan nominated his personal friend, also a Catholic, William A. Wilson, who has now been nominated as the ambassador of the United States to the Holy See. On 14 January of this year he will be able to participate for the first time in the pope's annual meeting with the Vatican diplomatic corps. Wilson's nomination must still be approved by Congress.

Archbishop Pio Laghi will become the papal nuncio to the U.S. Government. He is among the most experienced Vatican diplomats, and until now has been an apostolic delegate to the U.S. Episcopate in Washington as well as the Vatican's representative to the Organization of American States.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican has great significance for both the domestic politics of the United States and international politics. The President's decision, taken on the eve of an electoral campaign, shows a positive evolution of social attitudes in the United States. Observers note that ecumenical efforts, undertaken by the church since the Second Vatican Council, have played an important role. The great role played by recent popes with regard to the cause of peace and understanding in the world is not without significance. Their contribution to present developments is exemplified by such gestures as the journey of Paul VI to the United States (4 October 1965) and the visit by the present pope, the first one to be received in the White House. According to respected observers, the personal prestige of the present pope was a decisive factor.

Of course, this did not happen without some sharp protests. In the South, the baptists protested, as well as Jews and other groups.

The opponents of the decision by the President and the Congress invoke the principle of the separation of state and church, sacred

to Americans, and the principle of the absolute equality of all faiths. However, these protests are based on a misunderstanding. The Holy See maintains diplomatic relations with over 100 countries; Catholics, or even Christians, are a minority in many of those.

From the international perspective, it should be recalled that in the last 2 months the Holy See intensified its activity aimed at initiating negotiations between the East and the West. On 26 October John Paul II addressed personal letters to Reagan and Andropov on this issue. Later the secretary of State, Cardinal Casaroli, talked about mediatory activities of the Holy See. On 2 December the pope met with the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, and on 17 December Cardinal Casaroli received the ambassador of the USSR in Rome.

The Stockholm conference is beginning in a few days; a delegate of the Holy See will take part in it.

A French daily wrote about the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican after 117 years: "It is a gesture which will make the struggle for peace easier."

12503
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YUGOSLAVIA

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH LEADERS NOTED

AU262056 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 84

[Text] The Investigation and Publishing Center of the Serbian Socialist Youth Federation has carried out an investigation into the socio-psychological characteristics of youth leaders. The results are as follows: the average youth leader is a professional, male, aged about 25. It is interesting to note that the investigation confirmed the assumption that most youth leaders have a low level of education. Many of them, about 40 percent, are in fact in the process of education, but as the investigation says, the possibility exists that young people lose 1 or 2 years of their studies while they occupy a leading post.

Where does a youth president come from? In a majority of cases he is employed, and when he becomes a youth leader, his pay increased by about 5,000 dinars. The average youth official thinks that employment is the greatest youth problem, and that the greatest obstacle in the work of the Socialist Youth Federation is a lack of understanding and cooperation on the part of other social subjects and a lack of interest among the members. Regardless of these obstacles, all the leaders believe that they are to a certain extent capable of solving youth problems, and 40 percent of them even believe that they are fully or to a great extent capable of overcoming such obstacles.

The investigation unfortunately did not provide an answer to an important question--where youth leaders go after their term of office expires. Do they return to factories, do they continue to study, or do they join the professional politicians?

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